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A

DETECTION

OF THE

Court and State

OF

ENGLAND,

During the 116

REIGNS of K. JAMES I. CHARLES I. CHARLES II. and JAMES II. As alſo the INTER-REGNUM.

Conſiſting of 32121

PRIVATE MEMOIRS, &c. with Obſervations and Reflections.

Wherein are many SECRETS never before made publick: As alſo, a more impartial Account of the CIVIL WARS in *England*, than has yet been given.

By *ROGER COKE*, Eſq;

The FOURTH EDITION. Continued thro' the Reigns of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and to the Death of Queen ANNE.

In THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

London: Printed for *J. Brotherton* and *W. Meadows*, at the *Black Bull*, in *Cornhill*. MDCCXIX.

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AN APOLOGY TO THE READER.

THAT *Man has lived long enough, who has outlived the Love and Piety he owes to his Native Country: by my Native Country, I do not mean the fertile and pleaſant Soil of* Britain; *nor the ſweet and temperate Climate of it; nor the manifold Varieties which it naturally abounds with, for the Uſe and Conveniencies of human Life; nor yet the pleaſant and excelling Rivers which water it; nor the noble Havens, and abundance of moſt open Ports, from which it ſupplies other Parts of this our habitable Globe, with the ſuper-abundance of thoſe Commodities wherein it excels, and whereof the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts ſtand in need; and where the Waters flow, as well as ebb, as if they invited the World to trade with us, as well as we with them: But by my Native Country, I mean the Conſtitutions and Laws of the* Engliſh *Monarchy, which have continued for near Nine hundred Years, viz. ſince*

King Egbert *made a Decree, that laying aſide the Names of* Britains *and* Saxons, *the whole Nation of that part of* Britain *under his Dominion, ſhould be called* England.

Under theſe Conſtitutions and Laws, have all Engliſh *Men ever ſince, without any Act of their own Will, been born in Subjection, and by them have been protected in their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates; and to govern by theſe Conſtitutions and Laws have been the Claims of our Hereditary Monarchs, who have ever ſince governed* England; *and though the Succeſſion of the Kings of* England *have been often changed in the* Saxon, Daniſh, *and* Norman *Race of Kings; yet theſe Laws and Conſtitutions have been ever ſince preſerved, notwithſtanding the Attempts of many of the Kings of the* Norman, *and I may ſay of the* Scotiſh *Race too, to have ſubverted them, which, I believe, is more than can be ſaid of any other Monarchy in the World, out of* Britain: *So that in our* Engliſh *Government, the Conſtitution and Laws of it are as well the Rules of the King's Dominion, as of the Subject's Allegiance to the King; and when the Majeſty of the King is arrayed in* Judgment, Juſtice, *and* Mercy, *then for his Subjects to reſiſt him, is* High Treaſon *in this World, and* Damnation *in that to come: and, I think I may truly ſay, no People in the World are more Honourers of their Kings, yet more jealous of preſerving their Conſtitutions and Laws than the* Engliſh; *whereby they have preſerved their Government, now* France *and* Spain, *whoſe Government was like ours, have loſt theirs.*

But when the Kings of England *will not make the Laws and Conſtitutions of* England *to be their Will, but their Will differing from theſe to be the Laws and Conſtitutions of it; then a divided Dominion will neceſſarily follow, and it will be impoſſible for the Subject to obey both: The King hereby puts himſelf*

himſelf out of God's Protection, whoſe Vicegerent he is in governing by the Laws, and miſplaces his Majeſty which is founded in the Honour, Love, and Obedience of his Subjects, upon Minions and Favourites, whoſe Servant he makes himſelf; and theſe ſhall be the firſt who ſhall forſake him, when any Adverſity ſhall come upon him. Our Chronicles give Inſtances hereof in the Reigns of King John, Hen. 3. Edw. 2. *and* Rich. 2. *And the Deſign of this Treatiſe is to ſhew the Conſequences that have been produced hereby in the Reigns of the Kings of the* Scotiſh *Race.*

In this regular Monarchy, the Kings of England *do not abrogate old Laws, or impoſe new, or raiſe Monies from the Subject above the Revenues of the Crown, without Conſent in Parliament; and hereby the Kings of* England *reign in the Love and Obedience of their Subjects, and are freed from the Imputation of Tyranny in Sanguinary Laws, and from Oppreſſion in the Taxes granted in Parliament, which no abſolute Monarch is; and are more abſolutely obeyed in both, than any abſolute Monarch, who makes his Will the Law of his Subjects.*

The Diviſion of the Will of a King of England, *does not only diſtract the Allegiance of his Subjects, ſo that the divided Will of the King muſt neceſſarily prevail over the Laws and Conſtitutions of it, or theſe prevail againſt the divided Will, for both are incompatible, and cannot ſubſiſt together: But this Diſtraction gives Life and Motion to the ambitious Humour of Male-contents, who are impatient as well of Regal Government, as of ſubmitting to the Laws and Conſtitutions of it. And I ſubmit my ſelf to the Judgment of any impartial Reader, if this* Divided Will *in the Prince did not give that Life and Motion to the Ambition of the Factions in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *which not only raiſed* Civil Wars *in all of them, but brought De-*

ſtruction upon King Charles *the Firſt, as well as the Laws and Conſtitutions of them. However, I will take Notice of the Loyalty of the* Engliſh *Nation both to King* James *the Firſt, and King* Charles *the Firſt, that tho' theſe Kings were foreign born to our Laws and Conſtitutions, yet it patiently ſubmitted to their Uſurpations for above Thirty five Years; whereas, when King* Charles *the Firſt thought he had wholly ſubdued this Kingdom to his Will, and endeavoured to have done the ſame in* Scotland, *(his Native Country) the* Scots *would not endure it ſo many Weeks as the* Engliſh *had done Years, but roſe againſt it firſt in Tumults, after in open Arms; and the diſcontented Parties in* England *joining with them, however diſjoined from one another, brought on thoſe* Civil Wars *in all the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *which procur'd Deſtruction to the King, as well as the Kingdoms.*

In writing this Hiſtory, I cannot ſay with the noble Baptiſta Nani, *I have any Command from my Prince, or any other to do it; neither will I pretend to ſuch great Advantages as he had* gratis, *by a free Acceſs to the Records, and moſt ſecret Counſels of my Country; tho' I muſt not ſay, I have been wholly deſtitute of ſome, for elſe ſuch an Undertaking would render me guilty of the higheſt Arrogance; but what thoſe have been, I judge not pertinent here to relate, they will beſt appear by the Work it ſelf: Yet I can ſay with* Nani, *that I have not ſuffered my ſelf to be defiled with Partiality (which hath ſo prevailed in all the Writers of the late and preſent Times that I have ſeen) but paſſing by the Privilege of venerable Antiquity, which to a face of Truth hath another cloſe adjoining, that of Falſhood, I have choſen to expoſe my ſelf to Trial, and perhaps to Reproof, and that I might render a Teſtimony of Authority to Poſterity, to write the Story of the preſent Age, to the Age it ſelf. And I am not only in-*

induced hereto by the Authority of ſo noble an Hiſtorian, but by the Reaſon of Hiſtory: For many Accidents and Circumſtances, which are no part of the Records of Time, and which ſoon die and are forgotten, are ſo interwoven in Hiſtory, as to make it entire, and of one piece, and which not only enliven it, and create pleaſure in reading of it, but without them Hiſtory becomes disjointed, and is made up of broken Pieces.

And I can, in part, ſay with the noble Nani, *and in his own Words*, That to compoſe Hiſtories is ſacred, and not to be undertaken but with an upright Mind, and undefiled Hands; and for that Cauſe, the Memory of them was conſigned to the Temple, under the faithful Cuſtody of the Chief Prieſts, as the Witneſs or Truſt of thoſe that went before, and the Treaſure of thoſe that ſhould come after; not to be handled but as a Religious Thing, and with great Caution. In ſum, the Hiſtorian taking to himſelf an abſolute Dictatorſhip, nay, an Authority more than Human, over Times, Perſons and Actions, governs Fame, meaſures Deſerts, penetrates Intentions, diſcloſes Secrets; is with an undiſtinguiſhed Arbitriment over Kings and People, the Judge of Ages paſt, and Maſter of thoſe to come; Abſolves or Puniſhes, Deceives or Inſtructs. Whence, not without Reaſon, the Pen of Writers may be compared to the Lightning, which ſtriking out but one Letter from the Name * *Cæſar Auguſtus*, made him a God; becauſe *Praiſe* is a thing ſo tender, that one Daſh makes *Illuſtrious*, and a little Blot *Infamous*; and the Cenſure of the World thereupon, is ſo ſevere,

* Æſar *in the* Tuſcan *Tongue is* a God. *See* Suet. c. 97. *in the Life of* Auguſtus.

that

that it either conſecrates to Eternity, or proſcribes to Infamy. For my ſelf, I know not what elſe to wiſh, but that every one would take upon him to read this Work with the ſame diſintereſted and innocent Mind with which I have wrote it, confining my Confidence in this one thing, that the preſent Age will not be ſo unjuſt to me, nor ſo ungrateful to Poſterity, as to deny me the Opinion of Sincerity.

It was Nani's *Felicity to write the Stories of the Times, when the Prudence of the* Venetian *Senate, not only preſerved their State from the Tumults of War, wherein* Chriſtendom *was engaged, but in a great meaſure was Arbitrator of it: So that the Wars which* Nani *writes of, were like Thunder afar off; yet herein* Nani *expatiates his Story in a ſhort time, ſcarce thirty Years, into a large Volume; whereas, without looking after any thing Abroad, but what relates to my Story, I am contracted to the unhappy Story of my Native Country, to ſhew from what Cauſes ſuch a Train of Conſequences have followed; that* England, *which before was the Ballance which turned the Scale of the Affairs of* Chriſtendom *to that ſide it inclined, not only fell from this envied Height, and became the moſt deſpicable of all other States, but ſunk into the moſt miſerable State of Abject and Pity.*

I am the rather induced to write the Story of theſe Times, becauſe the Hackney-Writers *of them (at leaſt thoſe I have ſeen) have not only taken things in the midſt, without aſſigning the Cauſes; but being intereſted Parties, their Writings have been either fulſome Flatteries, or Invectives againſt one another, tending to the fixing of the Diſtempers of the Parties, without regard to the Publick, or aſſigning the Cauſe of the Diſtempers: But herein I except the Collections of Mr.* John Ruſhworth, *who, tho' intereſted in the Factions of the late Times, hath ſo faith-*

faithfully deliver'd them over to Poſterity; and I could have wiſhed, (tho' I know not from whence he had it) that he had not mentioned in that part of King James *his Speech to the Parliament,* 18 Jac. *that the Parliament is made up of the three States, the King, the Lords and Commons: and this is the main part of his Collections which* Franklin *and* Nalſon *ſo carp at; yet both theſe differ not only from one the other in reciting it, but from the Record of Parliament, for I have peruſed them with it, according to the Copy which Mr.* Petit *has taken.*

For my part, I can truly ſay, that as I never complied with any of the Factions in the late or preſent Times; ſo my Anceſtors ſtood firm to the Laws and Liberties of the Nation, and were Sufferers, both before, and in the late Troubles and Civil Wars: and in theſe Circumſtances, I am leſs diſpoſed to favour or flatter any Party, than another who is intereſted in any one of them.

I expect it will be objected againſt me, that in writing this Hiſtory, I have ſometimes been tranſported into an Heat unbecoming an Hiſtorian: I anſwer, that it may happen a Man may be angry, and not ſin, eſpecially when the Offence relates to the Diſhonour of God, the King, or the publick Deſtruction or Diſtraction of the Country, where Men are protected in their Lives, Liberties and Fortunes; but if I have erred herein, I ſhall but be in the Number of Lactantius, *who wrote the Relation of the Death of the perſecuting Emperors of the* Chriſtians; *and of* Suetonius *and* Tacitus.

It was the unhappy Fate of Europe, *that the Miſeries and Calamities which ſucceeded the* Divided Will *of the four Kings of the* Scotiſh *Race, from the Laws and Conſtitutions of this Nation, were not terminated within the Limits of the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *but were the occaſion of the firſt Riſe, and growing*

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Grandeur of France, *through the boundleſs Ambition of Cardinal* Richlieu, *and the preſent* French *King, both by Sea and Land, as well to the Terror of* Chriſtendom, *as of theſe Nations: and this Story will, in ſome meaſure, trace the Steps of them.*

This Treatiſe, I ſuppoſe, will diſpleaſe two ſorts of Men, whom I will never take care to pleaſe: One, who exalt the Divided Will *of the Prince above his Royal Capacity in governing by the Conſtitutions and Laws of the Kingdom: The other, thoſe which are impatient under Regal Government, and the Conſtitutions of this Kingdom.*

I have been more particular herein, becauſe notwithſtanding the Calamities which this Divided Will *of the King had brought upon the Nation in the late* Civil Wars, *and after; yet after the Reſtoration of King* Charles *the Second, the Nation was more fiercely rent into Diviſions, under the Names of* Whig *and* Tory, *than it was before the Wars; and theſe laſt having the Dominion of the Preſs, and Favour of the Court, made it their Buſineſs to irritate and provoke all others not of their Faction; and if any oppoſed them by Writing, when they could not anſwer, to perſecute them for printing without a Licence, tho' not unlawful in it ſelf, yet unlawfully printed.*

Thus far Mr. Coke's *own Preface to his Hiſtory, which we have given you entire, except a few ſuperfluous Repetitions, that were ſo far from being an Imbeliſhment, that they were an Incumberance to it; much the ſame may be ſaid of his Appendix about Trade, which running now in a different Channel, his Rules and Expedients are for the moſt part impracticable.*

As for the Author himſelf, it may not be improper to inſert a Line or two concerning him, before we proceed to account for the additional Part. He

was

was a younger Grandſon by a fourth Son of Sir Edward Coke, *Kt. Lord Chief Juſtice of both Benches in the Reign of King* James I. *and in his Time, juſtly reputed the Oracle of the Laws; which learned Perſon acquiring a great Eſtate in* Norfolk, *and other Counties, it devolved, in Proceſs of Time, upon failure of Iſſue Male from the three eldeſt Sons, upon our Author's Nephew, his eldeſt Brother's Son, who marrying the Lady* Anne Osborn, *a Daughter of the late Duke of* Leeds, *was the Grandfather of Mr.* Coke, *the preſent Poſſeſſor. Mr.* Roger Coke *had his Education in the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *became well vers'd in ſeveral Parts of Learning, and wrote a Treatiſe againſt* Hobs's Leviathan. *The Mathematicks, for ſome time, ſeem'd to be his principal Study, and he acquired great Knowledge in ſeveral Branches of that copious Science: That of Commerce he likewiſe took much delight in, and wrote ſome Treatiſes of it, more particularly about the Fiſhery; but tho', in his Day, he had good ſpeculative Notions in Trade, he was not ſo ſucceſsful in the Practice of it, which, with ſome other Incidences, brought him into Diſtreſſes, and the beſt Support he had, was an Hundred Pounds Annuity out of the grand Eſtate of the Family, which, if I miſtake not, was ſettled upon him by his Nephew, not long after he came into the Poſſeſſion of it; ſo that he liv'd for ſome Years within the Rules of the Fleet, and died a Batchelor about the Seventy ſeventh Year of his Age.*

The Author having ſcarcely touch'd upon the Hiſtory of the Revolution, it was thought neceſſary, in our Additions, we ſhould look back to the grand Author of it: We have begun with the Origin of his Family, and having traced him from his Birth throughout the Courſe of his Life and Actions, to the Time he became in a Condition to bring about ſo great a Work, we have been very particular in all the Paces of it, till the Crown was ſettled on the Heads of the Prince

and

and Princeſs of Orange, *and the Declaration of War againſt* France, *with which we conclude the firſt Period.*

We have choſen to paſs over in Silence, the Revolution thought to have been intended towards the Beginning of the ſecond Period; becauſe, tho' ſo many Years have ſince elapſed, we have not been able to ſet it in its true Light. It's not the Part of Hiſtorians to fix an Odium on any Party of Men, without full Aſſurance of the Truth of the Facts, and moſt material Circumſtances attending them. The other remarkable Events have been carefully and faithfully related to the Death and Character of Queen Mary, *with which the Period ends.*

In the third, you have the Continuance of our Civil and Military Affairs, and the ſecret Springs by which the Peace of Reſwick *was negociated and finiſhed, and* William III. *acknowledged, by his Grand Enemy, King of* Great-Britain, *notwithſtanding the Oppoſition you will find made by King* James, *towards whom, the* French *were ſo inſincere, that they took not Precaution enough to ſecure to his Queen her Dowry, tho' ſhe brought a Fortune of Four hundred thouſand Pounds, and that even paid by* France.

In the next, beſides our Domeſtick Affairs, you will ſee the Cauſes and Intrigues, which after a ſhort Interval of Tranquility, neceſſarily led us into another War, and the Alliances and Preparations made by the King towards it; but that Prince not living to put his Schemes in Execution, we conclude the Chapter with his Death and Character.

The War, during the firſt Tory Adminiſtration in the Queen's time, was carried on with uncommon Vigour and unexpected Succeſs Abroad; and our Affairs at Home were managed with ſo great Unanimity, ſave the Bickerings between the Lords and Commons about the Occaſional Conformity Bill, *and ſome other Matters, that her Majeſty's Reign ſhone moſt glorioufly in the Eyes of all her People.*

The Aſcendency obtain'd by the Whigs, ſoon occaſion'd Anger and Diſcontent, as appears by the Church of England's *Memorial, which we have given you at large, with a view of preſerving it to Poſterity; however, the War, if poſſible, went on with greater Succeſs. It was, during this Adminiſtration, that the beſt part of* Brabant *and* Flanders *were recovered out of the Hands of the* French, *great Advances made towards ſettling* Charles III. *on the Throne of* Spain, *and ſuch Impreſſions made upon* France *it ſelf, that the Enemy ſued for a Peace, how inſincere ſoever they proceeded in it. And to Crown the whole, the Union of the two Kingdoms was now effected; upon which, her Majeſty valued her ſelf more than on any other Incidence of her Reign.*

Affairs, after this, taking another turn in favour of the High Church Party, how they managed during the Continuance of the War, and the Negociations of Peace at Utrecht, *and what enſued thereupon during the Remainder of the Queen's Life, will beſt appear by the Hiſtory it ſelf, which we conclude with her Death and Character.*

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN King *James* I. became King of *England*, the Kingdom of *France* was bounded on the North with the *Britiſh* Sea, from *la Breſle* on the Eaſt, where this River, which parts *Normandy* from *Boloignois*, diſcharges it ſelf into the Sea, and in the Latitude of 50 Deg. North, and 5 Min. from whence Weſt and by South it extends it ſelf to *Portſal* in *Bretaign*, about 340 Miles diſtance, and in the Latitude of 48 Degrees; and North and by Eaſt from *la Breſle* to *Calais*, which lies in the Latitude of 50 Degrees, 40 Minutes.

From *Portſal* to the South, inclining into the Eaſt, upon the Bay of *Biſcay*, *France* extended it ſelf to St. *Jean de Luz*, which is the Frontier to *Spain*, in the Latitude of 44 Degrees; and from St. *Jean de Luz*, Eaſt and by South, it extended it ſelf along the *Pyrenean* Hills to *Perpignan* in the County of *Roſſillion*, in the Latitude of 42 Deg. 30 Min.

From *Perpignan* on the South to *Piedmont*, on the Eaſt towards the North, it was bounded by the *Mediterranean* Sea, and from *Calais* on the North; the Eaſtern Parts of *France* to the South were bounded by the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, *Lorain*, *Alſace*, the State of *Geneva*, *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. The Continent was near three-fold more than *England*, including *Wales*.

Before the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* in the Year 1474. *Spain* was divided into Six Kingdoms, whereof Four were Chriſtian, *viz.* The Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, *Arragon*, *Navarre* and *Portugal*; and Two Mahometan, *viz.* *Granada* and *Murcia*. But when King *James* came to be King of *England*, all theſe Kingdoms were united under *Philip* III. King of *Spain*; *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* having conquered the Kingdoms of *Granada* and *Murcia*, after *Iſabella*'s Death *Ferdinand* conquered *Navarre*, and *Philip* II. claimed and conquered *Portugal* in 1584. after the Death of Don *Sebaſtian*, who was overthrown and ſlain by the King of *Fez* and *Morocco* in 1580. All theſe Kingdoms thus united, were greater than *France* by about One third. *Spain* thus united, is a Peninſula, having on the North-Eaſt and South-Eaſt the *Pyrenean* Hills; on the North-Eaſt is *Fonterabia*, and on the South-Eaſt, *Cape de Creux*; the reſt of *Spain* is environed by the Bay of *Biſcay* on the North, by the *Atlantick* Ocean on the Weſt, and South to *Gibralter*, and to the North-Eaſt by the *Mediterranean* Sea from *Gibralter* to *Cape de Creux*.

The North of *Spain*, *viz.* the North of *Biſcay* and *Galicia*, is in the Latitude of 44 Degrees North; and the South Parts of *Andaluzia* and *Granada*, in the Latitude of 36 Degrees, 30 Minutes: but the Extent of *Spain* about the middle Region of it from Eaſt to Weſt, is more than from North to South, being near 14 Degrees, 20 Minutes in Longitude.

The Iſle of *Britain* is the greateſt of *Europe*, it may be of the World, for ought is certainly known; at leaſt, none is comparable to it, except *Madagaſcar* or St. *Laurence*, and *Japan*, if it be an Iſland. The North of it is in the Latitude of 58 Degrees North, the South-Eaſt in 51 Degrees, and towards the Weſt inclines into the Latitude of 50 Degrees. It is bounded on the South by the Channel, or *Britiſh* Sea; on the Eaſt by the *German* Ocean; on the North by the *Deucaledonian* Ocean, and on the Weſt by the *Vergivian*.

Britain is divided into Two Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*; *England*, including *Wales*, is above one third greater; but incomparably a better and more

fertile

fertile Soil, and a more temperate Climate, in a Northern Climate, lying South of *Scotland*.

The Kingdom of *Scotland* hath ſeveral Iſlands depending upon it on the North and Weſt; on the North is a Knot of Iſlands, or Rocks, called *The Orcades*: I cannot tell whether they be diſtinguiſh'd by Names; but on the North of theſe, in the Latitude from 60 to 61 Degrees, lies *Shetland*, or *Shotland*, which the *Romans* called *Ultima Thule*; and on the Weſt are the *Hebrides*; the moſt conſiderable of them are the Iſles of *Mul*, *Sky*, and *Lewis*.

Beſides *Ireland*, and the Iſles of our Weſtern Plantations, the Iſle of *Man*, which lies between *Lancaſhire* and *Ireland*; the Iſle of *Angleſey*, which lies between *Wales* and *Ireland*; the Iſles of *Wight*, *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, which lie in the *Britiſh* Sea between *England* and *France*; and the *Sorlings*, or Iſles of *Silly*, a Knot of Iſlands about a Degree Weſt of the Land's-End of *Cornwal*, are in the Dominion of the Kingdom of *England*.

Ireland is a Kingdom and Iſland, depending upon the Kingdom of *England*, greater than *Scotland*, and near as big as *England*, excluding *Wales*, and is near of an oblong Figure, unleſs the Province of *Munſter* inclines towards the Weſt, near a Degree into the South. The North of *Ireland* lies in the Latitude of 55 Degrees, 30 Minutes North; and the South-Eaſt in the Latitude of 52 Degrees, 30 Minutes; and the South-Weſt in the Latitude of 51 Degrees, 40 Minutes; the Breadth from Eaſt to Weſt is near 4 Degrees, 20 Minutes Longitude.

Ireland, on the North, is bounded by the *Deucaledonian* Ocean, on the Eaſt by St. *George*'s Channel, on the South by the *Atlantick* Ocean, and on the Weſt by the *Verguvian* Ocean.

It will much conduce to open the Deſign of the enſuing Treatiſe, if we look back to the Diſſolution of the *Roman* Weſtern Empire, and ſee what kind of Government ſucceeded in the Kingdoms of *Spain*, *France*, and *England*, and ſo take a View of the Cauſes of the Ruin of the Weſtern Empire; and herein I ſhall follow *Helvicus* his *Chriſtian Vulgar Æra*.

As *Britain* was the firſt Country which received the Chriſtian Faith, ſo *Conſtantine* the Great, the firſt of all the Chriſtian *Roman* Emperors, was born a *Britain*, and became Emperor in the Year of Chriſt 306. A Prince who, as he excelled in Chriſtian Piety, ſo was he adorned with all Moral Vertues requiſite in ſo great a Prince; and being zealouſly addicted to propagate the Chriſtian Faith and Religion, he chiefly intended theſe above all other Things; but herein he met with great Oppoſition; nor could he attain theſe Ends, without ſhaking the Strength and Foundation of the Conſtitutions of the Empire.

For in propagating the Chriſtian Faith and Religion, *Conſtantine* was not only oppoſed by *Diocleſian*, *Maxentius*, and *Maximin*, (who were Emperors before him) but by his Copartner *Licinius* in War; and the Chriſtians, if they had been all of one Piece, were not ſufficient to ſupport the Empire againſt the far more numerous *Gentiles* and *Jews*. Add hereto, that in the Rage of the late Perſecution under *Diocleſian*, *Maximinian*, *Maximin*, and *Maxentius*, the Chriſtians were ſo ſore perſecuted, that excepting their Faith and Piety for Chriſtianity, they were unfit for any Civil or Military Employment; but ſo far were the Chriſtians from being of one Piece, that they were rent into the Sects and Factions of *Marcioniſts*, *Montaniſts*, *Novatians*, *Donatiſts*, and *Sabellians*; and in the Tenth Year of *Conſtantine*, *Arius* broach'd his blaſphemous Opinion of our Saviour's not being God from all Eternity, being the Year of Chriſt 316.

We do not read that the *Romans*, before the Empire became Chriſtian, ever made War upon any Nation upon the Account of Religion; and though there were many Sects among them of different Opinions concerning their Gods and their Attributes, and of God's Preſcience, Fate, and the Liberty and Neceſſity of Human Actions, yet the different Sects never went farther than Brawls and endleſs Contentions with one another; they never upon that Account made any Schiſm or Separation from the pub-

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lick Worſhip and Service of their Gods preſcribed by the Laws of the Empire.

And as among the *Gentiles*, ſo among the *Jews*; tho' the Opinions of the *Phariſees*, *Sadduces*, and *Eſſeans* were as wild and extravagant as thoſe of the Heathens, yet theſe were never eſteemed by them to be Acts of *Jewiſh* Religion, nor upon that Account did they diſpenſe or ſeparate themſelves from the publick Worſhip and Service of God preſcribed by Law.

Whereas the different Sects of the Chriſtians not only baptized their fond and wicked Opinions, many of which were the ſame with thoſe of the *Gentiles*, by the Name of Religion; but took Occaſion from thence to ſeparate and disjoyn themſelves from the Communion, or publick Worſhip and Service of God preſcribed by publick Authority: So as *Conſtantine* had a very difficult Task to govern the Empire in this diſtracted State, not only of the *Gentiles*, but of the Chriſtians: But ſince Religion is the higheſt Act of Piety, Devotion and Gratitude, which Man can return to God for his having preferred Man in his Creation and Generation above all other Creatures, in giving him not only Dominion over them, but much more by enduing Man with an intellectual and reaſonable Soul, capable of eternal Happineſs; and ſince Religion is not only miſtaken in the Name and Exerciſe, but made at this Time as much a Stalking-Horſe to cover Mens Pride and fantaſtical Opinions, as it was in *Conſtantine's* Time, and ſince, to the Scandal of Chriſtianity, I hope the Reader will not loſe his Time in underſtanding the Difference between *Chriſtian Faith*, and *Chriſtian Religion*, and herein what is to be aſcribed to God, and what is the Duty of Man.

Chriſtian Faith is a firm Belief and Reliance upon God's Promiſe revealed in the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, to the end that Man by his Faith and Obedience to the Precepts which God requires of him herein, may be made capable of Eternal Happineſs, from which he was fallen by the Diſobedience of our firſt Parents; ſo as Chriſtian Faith is the Effect of God's meer Grace and Favour to Man, wherein Man is only paſſive in believing in God thus revealing himſelf, and

ſubmitting to the Precepts which God requires in the Scriptures.

Chriſtian Faith does not abſolve Man from any of the Moral Duties which God requires of him by the Law of Nature; but more ſtrictly obliges Man to them, not only in his Speech and Actions, but forbids all Immoral Thoughts and Intentions: ſo that Chriſtian Faith is ſo far from being incompatible with human Peace and Society in this World, that Man is more obliged hereto by it, than by the Law of Nature.

Chriſtian Religion is a conjoining of two or more in honouring and praiſing God for the publick Bleſſings they enjoy by God's Favour, both as being by his Grace and Goodneſs received into the Communion of Chriſt's Congregation, as alſo being protected in their Lives and Fortunes in their ſeveral Societies and Governments: So that Chriſtian Religion is the Act of the Will of Man in Conformity to Chriſtian Faith; and Chriſtian Faith and Religion differ, as Man's Underſtanding and Reaſon: God made Man without any Act of Man's Will, an intellectual Creature, to inform all his future Intentions, Speech and Actions; and it is the Will of Man to intend, ſpeak and act reaſonably, or conformable to his Underſtanding. So that tho' Chriſtian Faith be the ſame in all Countries and Places, yet Chriſtian Religion muſt neceſſarily be different in different Countries and Places, as God, in his Providence, is pleaſed to govern the World in them.

Thus the Children of *Iſrael* were obliged to join together in celebrating God's Honour and Praiſes, for his Deliverance of them out of their *Egyptian* Bondage, and for his immediate Government of them, and preſcribing them Laws for the Support of this Government, and for God's revealing himſelf to them in the Old Teſtament; which other Nations to whom God had not thus revealed himſelf, and thus governed, could not do.

So all Chriſtian Countries and Kingdoms are as well obliged to join together in honouring and praiſing God for the publick Benefits they receive, in being protected in every Government in their Lives

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and Fortunes in this World, as well as in being received by God's ſpecial Grace and Favour into the Communion of Chriſt's Congregation: But God's Providence in governing the World being after different Manners, in divers Places, ſo muſt the Religion, or the Manner of celebrating God's Praiſes, be differing in them. In *England* we are obliged to honour and praiſe God, that we enjoy God's Bleſſings by Laws peculiar to this Nation, and by being deliver'd from the Popiſh Conſpiracy in 1605, *&c.* but other Nations, which do not partake with us herein, cannot join herein with us, nor we with them.

Religion, or the conjoining of Men in honouring and praiſing God for the publick Benefits they equally receive from God, is the higheſt Duty incumbent upon Man: for tho' God, by a peculiar Providence, foreſees and provides for all Men in ſeveral manners, it may be, not for two alike in all the World, and alſo for theſe in daily Varieties: yet Men are ſecured in theſe particular Bleſſings by the publick Laws and Governments of the different Places wherein they inhabit.

Chriſtian Religion being a conjoining of many in celebrating God's Praiſes, and in Prayers for God's continuing his Mercies and Bleſſings; theſe Praiſes and Prayers are ſuppoſed to be uniform and foreknown, that all who meet, may join with one Voice and Mind in them; and therefore St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. exhorts *Timothy*, that firſt of all (as for the higheſt Duty of Chriſtians) Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks be *made* for all Men, eſpecially for Kings, and all in Authority under them (*though at this Time not only the* Roman *Emperors, but all Kings, and thoſe in Authority, were Heathen and Idolaters*) that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty: for this is good and acceptable in the Sight of God our Saviour, who will have all Men to be ſaved, and come to the Knowledge of the Truth; for there is one God, and one Mediator between God and Men, the Man *Chriſt Jeſus*. If therefore by Divine Precept or Command from God, Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and Thankſgiving be to be made for Heathen Kings and

Magiſtrates, much more are Chriſtians obliged to make all theſe for Chriſtian Kings and Magiſtrates.

All Kingdoms conſiſt in the mutual Office of Commanding and Obeying, ſo that it is as well the Duty of Kings and thoſe who are in Authority to command, as it is of the Subjects to obey; and no Obedience can be, where there is no Command to which it is due; for where there is no Law, there is no Tranſgreſſion, or Omiſſion.

Tho' theſe Offices be diſtinct in their Relations, to the Governors and Governed, yet the Rules of theſe Offices are the ſame, and common to both, ſo as that they ought to be foreknown, as well to thoſe in Authority to command, as thoſe who are ſubject to them; theſe Rules are the Laws and Conſtitutions of every Kingdom and Country, which unite them into one Incorporeal, or Intelligible Body; and under theſe is Mankind in different Places, in divers Manners, maintain'd in Society and Concord.

The Offices of Commanding and Obeying, are not only reſtrained to Moral Speech and Actions, but extend to Religious; for *the Fear of God is the Beginning of Wiſdom*, as well in all publick as private Actions: So that all Civil Nations to whom God had not revealed himſelf, however they miſplaced their Deities in *Oſyris*, *Iſis*, *Jupiter*, &c. worſhipped their Gods in publick manner, and had thoſe Rites and Ceremonies which were performed by ſeparate Perſons ordained thereto.

As God governs the World, and all Creatures in it, ſo does he govern the Kingdoms in the World, and has ſet fatal Periods to them, as well as to the Life of Man, and all other Creatures; yet as he has not in vain given Laws to Man to govern his Intentions, Speech and Actions by, and made him to ſubſiſt in the Labour of his Body, and Cares of his Mind, or both; ſo has he not in vain commanded all Kingdoms and Nations to honour and ſerve him, and to live juſtly and peaceably with one another: and under theſe only can Kingdoms and Nations hope for Peace, and God's Bleſſing upon them.

So that it is not the Extent of the Territories of Kingdoms and Nations which is the Strength of them,

them, but the Number of People in them: Nor is it their well-peopling only, but their Unity in Religion and Civil Government; for by theſe, ſmall Dominions increaſe upon others, which are in Diſtraction and Diſſenſion: And where Kingdoms or Nations become diſtracted or divided; either in Religion or Civil Government, they become, how great ſoever they be, ſo much more enfeebled, and tending to outward and inteſtine Diſſolution, as theſe ſhall be more.

Theſe Diſcords in Religion and Juſtice, have their Beginnings oft-times from Kings, and thoſe in Authority, and often from the Subjects. It was *Solomon*'s Wives, 1 *Kings* 11. that turn'd away his Heart from the Religion which God commanded; which was the Cauſe, *ver.* 11. that God rent his Kingdom of *Iſrael* from him, and gave it to his Servant *Jeroboam*; and it was *Jeroboam*'s Idolatry which diſtracted the *Iſraelites* into Factions, which in time brought the *Babyloniſh* Captivity upon them, from which they never returned.

And as Diſcords in Religion often ariſe from Kings, and thoſe in Authority; which enfeeble the Strength of Kingdoms and Nations, ſo does the Oppreſſion, and Injuſtice of Kings, and Magiſtrates, when they are not God's Miniſters for their Subjects Good, make Kings Inſtruments of their vile Ends to the damage of their Subjects: Thus *Rehoboam* to humour his Favourites bred up with him, preferred them before his Subjects, and threatned to oppreſs them more than his Father did; whereby he loſt the Dominion of ten of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, not only from himſelf but from his Father's Houſe for ever; and became ſo poor and feeble, that the King of *Egypt* took *Jeruſalem*, and made Spoil of all the wonderful Riches, which his Father had left him. It was *Ahab*'s Covetouſneſs and Injuſtice, in the Murder of *Naboth*, and ſeizing his Vineyard, that God not only diſinherited his Poſterity, but rooted them out from the Face of the Earth; 1 *Kings* 21. 21.

And as this Diſcord in Religion and Juſtice may begin with the King, and thoſe in Authority, ſo it may

may from thoſe ſubject to them. It was the People contrary to God's immediate Command, that forſook the Religion and Worſhip which was commanded them, and ſet up the *Molten Calf* to be adored and worſhipped, *Exod.* 32. and it was the People which twice conſpired to depoſe *Moſes* from ruling over them, *Numbers* 16. which brought ſo great a Deſtruction upon them.

I do not queſtion, but it was the intolerable Tyranny and Oppreſſion of *Diocleſian*, *Maximinian*, *Maximin*, and *Maxentius*, as well as their horrible Perſecution of the Chriſtians, ſo livelily deſcribed by *Lactantius*, which gave ſo great a Reputation to the Chriſtians, and made *Conſtantine*'s Paſſage to the *Roman* Empire more deſirable, not only by the Chriſtians, but even by the *Gentiles*. Nor was the *Roman* Empire at any time of a greater Extent, unleſs under *Trajan*, than when *Conſtantine* became ſole Emperor.

Whereas this *Roman* Empire in the Body of it, was never in ſo diſtracted and feeble a State; for tho' *Conſtantine*, in regard of the Excellency of his natural Diſpoſition, was univerſally acknowledged Emperor, yet above all Things endeavouring the Propagation of Chriſtian Faith and Religion, and by his own Authority, without the Concurrence of the Senate, he granted an univerſal Toleration of Religion to all Sects of Chriſtians, as well as *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and not only diſcharged the Chriſtian Clergy, which by the Conſtitutions of the Empire (when they were not otherwiſe perſecuted) were ſubject to give their Attendance upon defraying the *Luſtral* Sacrifices, and watch and ward for Security of the *Pagan Temples*; but made the Chriſtians capable of receiving Legacies, and of all publick Imployments, ſo as the Chriſtians were not only in an equal, but better Eſtate than the *Gentiles*, and upon all Occaſions had the Preference of *Conſtantine's* Favour.

But however this diſpleaſed the *Gentiles*, it did not content all ſorts of Chriſtian Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, who were ſo obſtinate in their Opinions, that all the Endeavours *Conſtantine* could uſe, would not reconcile them: For beſides the *Nicene* Coun-

Council, he called four more; *viz.* at *Gaul*, *Ancyra*, *Neo Cæſarea*, and *Laodicea*. But when the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks would not ſubmit to theſe, *Conſtantine* reſtrained them from the Privileges he before granted them, and left them in the ſame ſtate they were before he became Emperor, yet not ſubject to further Perſecution.

This was ſo far from redreſſing the Factions, that they became more bitter againſt the *Orthodox* Chriſtians than they were before, and the *Gentiles* countenanced the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks herein, ſo that in many Places were Tumults and Diſorders; and many bitter Invectives, even againſt *Conſtantine* himſelf, were uttered by them. So that the whole Body of the Empire, was rent and torn into Parties and Factions, and *Conſtantine*'s Time wholly taken up about them, to the neceſſary Neglect of the more important Affairs of the Empire.

To this State did the deviliſh Pride of theſe Hereticks and Schiſmaticks reduce the *Roman* Empire; I ſay deviliſh Pride, for they were not content to ſubmit, as Chriſt's Servants, to obey him in thoſe plain and eaſily intelligible Precepts of the Goſpel, but like *Lucifer* would be wiſe in underſtanding our Saviour's glorious Attributes, which as they are incomprehenſible to Human Underſtanding, ſo without invading God's Prerogative, which he has not communicated to any Creature, no Man ought to enquire into them: and this Miſery attends all the wild and extravagant Opinions, not only of the Chriſtians, but of all the Sects of other Philoſophers (or rather Sophiſters) about God and his Attributes, that being founded in their fantaſtick Brains, they will ſubmit to no Rule which God requires of Man to determine them, and ſo they continue in endleſs Contention and Confuſion.

Theſe Hereticks and Schiſmaticks not content to be Co-partners with our Saviour in his Attributes, extended their blaſphemous and extravagant Opinions into the Objects of Religion (which neither the *Jews* nor *Gentiles* ever did) a Lie in diametrical Contradiction; for Religion is a publick Conjunction of Men in celebrating God's Praiſes for the publick

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Bleſſings they alike received from God whereas theſe for the Love-ſake Opinion of their own Conceit, disjoined themſelves from celebrating God's Praiſes for the Benefits they alike received from God, as Chriſtians: How could the monſtrous Opinions of the *Marcioniſts*, *Manichees*, *Novatians*, *Arians*, *Sabellians*, and *Donatiſts*, abſolve theſe from joining with their Fellow-Chriſtians in giving God Thanks for their Converſion to the *Chriſtian Faith*, and for their wonderful Deliverance by *Conſtantine*, from the Rage and Perſecution of *Diocleſian*, *Maximinian*, *Maxentius* and *Maximin*?

This was the Gratitude and Piety which theſe Men returned to God and *Conſtantine* for their Deliverance: and if they made Things thus bad in *Conſtantine*'s Reign, they made them much worſe after his Death; for notwithſtanding all the pious Endeavours of *Conſtantine* to the contrary, the *Arians*, above all other Sects, had over-ſpread the Face of the *Roman* Empire, and his Son *Conſtantius* became an *Arian*, and not only revoked the Privileges which his Father had conferred upon the *Orthodox* Chriſtians, and preferred the *Arians* (if they were worthy to be called Chriſtians) before them, but by ſeveral Councils at *Tyre*, *Antioch*, and in the *Eaſt*, (for *Conſtantine* divided the Empire between his three Sons, *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtans*; and the *Eaſtern* Empire was given to *Conſtantius*) revoked all the Decrees of the *Nicene* Council.

Nor was the Empire in a much better Condition in the *Weſt*, for *Arianiſm* had over-ſpread the *Weſtern* as well as the *Eaſtern* Empire; and though *Conſtans* were not a Perſecutor of the *Orthodox* Chriſtians, as his Brother *Conſtantius* was, yet *Liberius*, the Biſhop (or, if you pleaſe, the Pope) of *Rome*, was an *Arian*; and one *Felix* became a Competitor with him in his Biſhoprick, or Papacy. In this Hurly-burly ſtood the *Roman* Empire after the Death of *Conſtantine*, wherein Civil and Military Diſcipline became neglected, till the Reign of *Julian the Apoſtate*, which was but 24 Years after the Death of *Conſtantine*.

Julian (who ſucceeded *Conſtantius*) put the Caſe further than the *Arians*, for they would allow our Savi-

Saviour's Divinity to exiſt to Eternity, though they denied it from Eternity; whereas *Julian* would not allow him to be a Prophet; and for the ſhort Time of his Reign, he made it his Buſineſs to reſtore *Paganiſm*; and to that End revoked all the Powers and Privileges *Conſtantine* had granted the Chriſtians, and granted a general Indulgence to all Sects of the Chriſtians, yet recalled all exil'd Biſhops, whether Catholick, or Heretick, ſo that there was a Confuſion among them in the Execution of their Offices; but in all he countenanced the Hereticks againſt the *Orthodox*.

However, *Julian* being a Martial Prince, and the *Perſians* having in theſe Confuſions of the *Roman* Empire, made Invaſions upon it; *Julian* raiſed a great Army, and marched againſt *Sapores*, the King of *Perſia*: But in this Expedition *Julian* died, having reigned but one Year, and eight Months, to whom *Jovian* ſucceeded, who was a zealous *Orthodox* Emperor: But the *Gentiles* under *Julian* diſliking *Jovian*, and the Chriſtians being in Feuds and Factions, *Jovian* was forced to make an inglorious Peace with *Sapores*, and delivered up the City of *Niſibis* to him. However *Jovian* reſtored the *Orthodox* Chriſtians to the Privileges and Immunities which *Conſtantine* had granted them, and left the *Pagans* and Hereticks to themſelves: But *Jovian*'s ſhort Reign, being but ſeven Months and odd Days, could perfect no great matter.

To *Jovian*, *Valentinian* ſucceeded, who took his Brother *Valens* to be his Colleague; *Valentinian* was zealouſly *Orthodox*, and *Valens* as fierce an *Arian*: *Valentinian* granted a general Indulgence of Liberty to *Pagans*, and all ſorts of Hereticks, but favoured the *Orthodox*: But *Valens* denied Liberty of Religion to the *Orthodox*, though he granted it to all other Sects and Hereticks, and alſo to the *Pagans*.

In the third Year of the Reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, *Valentinian* made his Son *Gratian* a Co-partner in the Empire; and having reigned 11 Years died, leaving his Sons *Gratian* and *Valentinian* Emperors, but *Valens* died three Years after him, *viz. Ann.* 378. and no mention is made of his Iſſue.

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By this Time *Arianiſm* had over-ſpread the Face of the Eaſtern Empire, and was ſo eſtabliſhed, that the Orthodox Chriſtians were forced to exerciſe their Religion in obſcure Conventicles; beſides the *Viſe*, or *Weſt Goths*, though *Arians*, had over-run *Thrace*, even to the Gates of *Conſtantinople*.

Gratian was Orthodox, and in this diſtracted Eſtate of the Eaſtern Empire, was ſore preſſed upon by the *Germans* in the Weſtern; ſo that he judged his younger Brother *Valentinian* no ways qualified to reſtrain the warlike Progreſs of the *Goths*, or ſettle the Eaſtern Empire; and therefore choſe *Theodoſius* for his Colleague. *Theodoſius* was a *Spaniard* by Birth as well as *Trajan*, a moſt devout and *Orthodox* Chriſtian, and a moſt valiant and expert Soldier: So that as *Trajan* was the moſt glorious and auguſt of all the Heathen Emperors, ſo was *Theodoſius* (at leaſt after *Conſtantine*) the moſt renowned of all the Chriſtian Emperors; yet it was his Fate that he ſhould ſee his Native Country to be the firſt that fell in the Ruin of the *Roman* Weſtern Empire.

Theodoſius was made Emperor in the Year 379, and forthwith raiſed an Imperial Army, and marched againſt the *Goths*, and gained ſeveral ſignal Victories over them; and in the Year 380 entered in Triumph into *Conſtantinople*, where he found it a much more difficult Task to re-eſtabliſh the *Orthodox* Chriſtians than to vanquiſh the *Goths*: for the *Arians* above 40 Years had been poſſeſſed of the Revenue belonging to the Church; their Churches rich and ſplendid, and their Service magnificent; and the *Orthodox* being poor, and out of Poſſeſſion of any Churches, or Revenue, it was impoſſible to redreſs theſe in an inſtant, but by Degrees; ſo that it was ten Years before *Theodoſius* could re-eſtabliſh the *Orthodox* Clergy, and ſuppreſs the *Arian*.

In the mean Time, *viz. Ann.* 381, the next Year after *Theodoſius* ſettled at *Conſtantinople*, *Alaricus*, King of the *Weſt Goths* (who were *Arians*) marched through *Maſia*, now called *Hungary*, *Germany*, and *Gaul*, into *Spain*, and without any Fighting, or Siege that we read of, took Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part of *Spain*: So much was the antient *Roman* Warlike

like Diſcipline neglected, while the Chriſtians were in theſe Feuds and Diſcords among themſelves; ſo that *Spain* which held the longeſt Wars againſt the *Romans* of all their Conquered Dominions in *Europe*, was the firſt that was rent from the *Roman* Empire, without a Sword drawn in its Defence.

But *Spain* was too great to be wholly poſſeſſed by the *Goths*, ſo that about 40 Years after *Alaricus* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the other Parts of *Spain*, *Gundericus* King of the *Vandals*, *Anno* 410, marched quite through the Body of the *Roman* Weſtern Empire, and without any Interruption, pierced to the moſt remote South-Weſt Part of *Spain*, called *Bætica*, and there planted themſelves, and called it *Andaluzia*, or *Vandaluzia*, or the Country of the *Vandals*.

I have been a little more particular in ſetting down the Cauſes of the Ruin of the *Roman Weſtern* Empire, that the Occaſions of the like might be avoided in the other Parts of Chriſtendom, as well to avoid the like Conſequences, as the Scandal to Chriſtianity thereby; and the rather, becauſe that the fond Opinions which are broached in theſe Times, are as extravagant and wild, as thoſe in the Time of *Conſtantine*, and after; and Men as obſtinate in them, and ſo conceited of them, that they make them the Objects of their Religion; and think themſelves thereby diſcharged from joining with other Chriſtians, in celebrating Praiſes and Thankſgiving to God, for the publick Benefits they alike partake.

St. *Paul* truly calls the Brawls among the different Sects of the *Græcian* Philoſophers, vain Philoſophy; becauſe they tended to no Edification, or Benefit, but cauſed endleſs Contentions and Diſcords; and was never more offended than when the Chriſtians became diſtracted into Sects, I am of *Paul*, another of *Apollo*, a third of *Cephas*, &c. whereby the Unity of Chriſtians was rent into endleſs Feuds and Factions.

And as the Dogmatizing of theſe Philoſophers (or rather Sophiſters) was vain, and tended to no good, but ill, ſo are the *Analyticks*, *Topicks*, *Phyſicks* and *Metaphyſicks* of *Ariſtotle*, and all the Diſquiſitions

and

and Diſtinctions of the School-men, about the Attributes of God, Angels and Saints, &c. and tend to no Edification: For I ſay, that by no Rule, or Method of *Ariſtotle*'s Logick, was ever any Progreſſion of Learning in any one Propoſition in any Art, or Science; if another can ſhew it, it lies on his Part, for I deny it; and I will be particular herein.

Clavius in his *Scholium* upon the firſt Propoſition of *Euclid*'s Elements, endeavours to demonſtrate it by *Ariſtotle*'s Logick, in three *Syllogiſms*, and two *Corollaries*, (ſuch as they are) and then leaves it not only unconcluſive, but ſays by this Way it cannot otherwiſe be done; and therefore not only he, but all other Mathematicians, not only in their Comments upon *Euclid*, but all other Mathematical Learning, rejects this Way of Reaſoning, and betakes himſelf to what he had ſaid before in his Demonſtration of it. As if all Light of Reaſoning were ſo ſhut up in *Clavius* his Brain, that becauſe he does not ſee, the reſt of Mankind muſt be blind; and what is that Way of Reaſoning that he betakes himſelf to, but by hudling the Principles of Geometry into Confuſion, without Order or Method of Reaſoning, to make a Concluſion, like a *Dutch* Reckoning of *Alteri-al*? From hence it is, that there is no Method or Order of Reaſoning obſerv'd in Geometry, whereby this noble Science is rendred ſo perplext, that of ingenious Men, not one in twenty can underſtand it, and no Reaſon is given of any one Propoſition of our moſt uſeful *Vulgar Arithmetick*, whereby it becomes crampt up to ſome few Rules, without further Poſſibility of Progreſs.

And I ſay, if *Ariſtotle*'s Logick be of no Uſe in Scientifical and Demonſtrative Learning, then cannot it be in dialectical and probable; for if any of the Premiſes of a *Syllogiſm* be but probable, or uncertain, the Concluſion will be leſs probable, and more uncertain, from whence endleſs Confuſion and Diſcord will follow, but never any rational Knowledge: and from hence it is there are ſo many Sects among the *Peripateticks*, which are derived from *Ariſtotle*, as Branches from the Trunk of a Tree, as

Clavius

Clavius truly obſerves in his Preface of the Nobility and Excellency of Mathematical Learning; and we ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more hereof hereafter.

I would not have carped at *Ariſtotle* or *Clavius* herein, if I did not underſtand that not only Geometry and Numbers, but all Mathematical Learning, might be taught by one Method of Reaſoning, intelligible by Youth in their early Years; and that without *Algebra*, Square or Cube Roots of ſurd Numbers, might be extracted without Error; whereby all thoſe ſurd Propoſitions in Mathematicks, which before could only be reſolved *Geometrically*, may be ſo Numerically; and alſo how in Navigation to find out the Variation of Longitude in any different Latitude, if an Account be given of the Sailing; which, I ſay, is impoſſible to be done by *Trigonometry*; and the Tables of *Sines*, *Secants*, and *Tangents*; and to find out the Centre of any Circle, in any two different Latitudes, and Variation of Longitude given, and the Arch of Diſtance: Nor is this Method of Reaſoning reſtrained to Mathematical Learning, but may be in other, as hath been ſhewed in *The Reaſons of the Decay of the Strength, Wealth, and Trade of* England, and *The Increaſe of the* Dutch *Wealth, Strength, and Trade*, &c.

How much better then were it for the nobler, and better Sort of Youth, to be inſtructed in their Mother-Tongues in this Learning, wherein every Propoſition would beget a new Knowledge, which may be uſeful to them in their future Converſation and Buſineſs, than to loſe their whole Youth in learning *Greek* and *Latin*, which they rarely ever after make uſe of, which they might, if that Time had been employed in learning *Welſh* and *Iriſh*; and inſtead of being inſtructed how to deal and converſe juſtly, to be impoſed upon by the Sophiſtry of *Ariſtotle*, which is of no Uſe to them in their Converſation and Buſineſs: and excites them into endleſs Brawls and Contentions, not only in Civil but Religious Affairs?

Having given an Account of the Reaſons of the Ruin of the *Roman* Weſtern Empire, and how like our Caſe is to that of the Empire in its Declenſion; it's Time to take a View of the State of the *Goths* and

Vandals, after they had planted themſelves in *Spain*: and herein I obſerve, that though the *Romans* as well as *Grecians*, eſteem all other Nations barbarous but themſelves, yet the Government of them was equal, if not better than either; for it was a Regular Monarchy, wherein the King did not govern by an abſolute, deſpotick Power, but by eſtabliſh'd Laws; nor could they make new, nor alter the old, or raiſe Money, without the Conſent of the States of their Kingdoms, and this continued for many Hundred Years after: How many of the Kingdoms in *Spain* loſt theſe Privileges, is too long to be inſerted here, yet at this Day the Kingdom of *Arragon* retains them: So that the King of *Spain* never ſpeaks to them as King of *Caſtile*.

In the Reign of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, *Anno* 408. about five Years before *Gundericus* entred *Spain*, *Attila* King of the *Huns* over-run the Empire, and pierced into *Gaul* with a huge Army, againſt whom *Honorius* ſent *Ecius* (the greateſt General of his Time) with an Imperial Army, which was raiſed in all Parts of the Empire; ſo as *Ecius* was forced to withdraw the *Roman* Legions in *Britain* to oppoſe *Attila*, nor did they ever return more; ſo that the poor *Britains* being enured to no warlike Diſcipline, but only to ſerve their imperious Maſters, eaſily became a Prey to the *Picts* and *Scots*, and ſo were in a more ſervile State than when they were under the *Romans*. To redeem themſelves from which, they called the *Engliſh Saxons* to their Aſſiſtance, who uſed them worſt of all, and expelled the whole Race of them out of that Part of *Britain*, now called *England*.

But this is obſervable, That as in theſe Times the reſt of the *Roman* Empire was over-ſpread with *Arianiſm*, ſo was that Part of *Britain* ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, over-ſpread with *Pelagianiſm*; and here obſerve the Juſtice of God upon them, That theſe Men who aſcribed to themſelves a Power of Salvation, without God's ſpecial Grace and Favour to them, ſhould not be able to ſave themſelves from their Enemies, but be either ſlaughtered by them, or expelled their Native Country upon the Earth.

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The *Saxons* which conquered the *Britains* were Heathen, yet was their Government, as well as that of the *Goths*, a Regular Monarchy, and ſo continued in all the *Dynaſties* of their Kings; and yet is continued, notwithſtanding the ſeveral Attempts of many of the Kings of the *Norman*, and the *Scottiſh* Race to the contrary.

About ten Years after *Etius* recalled the *Roman* Legions out of *Britain*, *viz.* in 418. *Pharamond* entred *Gaul*, and conquered ſome Part of it, which he called *France*, after the Name of the *Franks*; and *Pharamond* was Heathen; and ſo was *Meroveus* his Succeſſor, and *Childerick* his Son; and ſo continued till about the Year 490, when *Clovis* was converted to Chriſtianity; of whom *Mezeray* glories, That he was the only King in the World, which was not Infidel, or Heretick.

However, the Government of the *Franks*, as well as the *Goths* and *Saxons*, was a Regular Monarchy, till the Reign of *Charles* the 7th, about the Year 1430. which was above a thouſand Years after the *Franks* planted themſelves in *Gaul*.

If we look back into the Reign of *Henry* the 2d of *England*, we ſhall find him, it may be, the greateſt of all the *Weſtern* Kings; and Lord, if not of the greateſt, yet beſt Part of *France*, as he was Duke of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, in Right of his Wife *Eleanor*; *Aquitain* having the Ocean on the Weſt, and *Normandy* the *Britiſh* Sea on the North.

But this Dominion did not laſt long, for King *John*, *Henry*'s Son, and *John*'s Son, *Henry* the 3d, endeavouring to uſurp a more than Legal Authority over their Subjects, cauſed ſuch a Ferment and Diſcord in the Kingdom; and this laſted near 70 Years, that the Kings of *France* in the mean Time took all *Normandy*, and the greateſt Part of *Aquitain* from the *Engliſh*.

When King *James* became King of *England*, *Henry* the 4th was *French* King, having compoſed by Force and Clemency the Civil Wars, which had raged near 40 Years all over *France*, and in the Year 1597, made Peace with *Spain*, which was about 5 Years before King *James* became King of *England*: And here let us take a View of *Spain*.

Tho' *Spain* were one third greater than *France*, when King *James* came to the Crown of *England*, yet *France* was, I believe, fivefold better peopled, and generally a more fruitful Country: How this came to paſs, it's fit to look back upon the Cauſe of the Sterility of Men in *Spain*, and their abounding in *France*.

Ferdinand and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, about the Year 1490, having conquered the Kingdoms of *Granada* and *Murcia*; and againſt their Faith given to the *Moors*, brought in the Inquiſition upon them, the greateſt Part of the *Moors* forſook their Country, and thereby left the Kingdoms of *Granada* and *Murcia* ſo much leſs peopled: And *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* being addicted to the *Roman* Religion, eſtabliſhed manifold Biſhopricks and Religious Houſes in theſe Kingdoms, of both Sexes; and the Pope, though he pleaſes to make Marriage a *Sacrament*, yet forbids it to the Clergy, and other of both Sexes who take upon them a Religious Life; whereby as the *Moors* leaving *Spain*, unpeopled it at preſent, ſo future Generations became ſo much leſs repleniſhed, by how much more People took upon them a Religious Habit.

But this Miſchief did not ſtop here, for *Philip* the 2d (great Grandſon of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, and a moſt bigotted Prince to the Romiſh Superſtition) brought the Inquiſition upon the *Converted Moors*, which drove them out of *Spain*, to the further unpeopling of it; and my Lord *Bacon* ſays, That many of theſe poor converted *Moors* became as Profelytes in their Exile for their Religion, as if they had continued in *Spain*: And this Miſchief further followed, not only to *Spain* but to *Chriſtendom*; for the exiled *Moors* having no other Habitation and Means of Living, ſet up their Trade of Piracy, in *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, within the *Straits*, and in *Sallee* without; whereby they have been a Plague to all other Chriſtians, as well as *Spaniards*, who trade into the *Straits* and *Africk*, and other Southern Countries, ever ſince.

About the Time that *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* conquered *Spain*, *Columbus* diſcovered the *Weſt Indies*; and *Hernando Cortez* ſiding with one Part of the *Indians*, which

which were at War againſt the other, and thereby becoming Conqueror of thoſe he fought againſt, he got incredible Wealth, with a Diſcovery of the rich Mines in *Mexico*.

The Blaze of this quickly flew all over *Spain*, ſo that the *Spaniards* expected Mountains of Gold in running out of *Spain* into *America*, and therefore near half *Spain* ran into *America*, to ſeek new Adventures there; the covetous *Spaniard* not conſidering the Strength and Glory of every Country conſiſts in the well peopling and governing of it; and that Deſolation is the End of all God's Judgments upon any Country.

Here note, That no Art or Science comes to paſs by Fate, Inſpiration or Chance, but by Education, Learning, Converſation and Experience in Arts; and therefore where-ever People are thin, they are rude, ignorant, poor, heatheniſh, and idle, and of little Uſe to their Country; and alſo where the Generality of the People of any Country, be not imployed in Labours to ſupply other Men, they become a Burden to the Country to maintain them: So that *Spain* in this State not only loſt their antient Virtue and Military Diſcipline, but the Inhabitants being more religious and idle People than in any other Part of the World, became hereby not only the feebleſt of all other Countries, but the pooreſt; and notwithſtanding the Millions of Treaſure which were yearly imported into *Spain*, yet it could not ſupport the Luxury of the *Religious*, and maintain the poor idle Perſons in it.

But *Spain* could not contain the bloody Superſtitious Rage and Tyranny of *Philip*, but he endeavoured to have brought in the *Inquiſition* and *Caſtilian* Government into the *Netherlands*, which were Provinces more rich and abounding with People, and had more great and populous Towns, than any other Part of the known World of like Bigneſs, and the Inhabitants of a warlike Conſtitution: Theſe Countries were made free by *Charles*, *Philip*'s Father, from their Dependance upon *France*; for after *Charles* had taken *Francis* the firſt Priſoner, it was one of the Articles for his Enlargement, that he ſhould remit the Fealty which thoſe Countries paid him.

The *Fleming* (for ſo the Inhabitants of theſe Provinces were generally called, from *Flanders*, the greateſt of them) did not as the *Moors*, run out of their Country, but ſtoutly ſtood upon their Liberties and Privileges, and roſe up in Arms in defence of them: And theſe Wars continuing above 80 Years, not only put the Kings of *Spain* to a greater Expence than the Revenues of thoſe Provinces, and the Returns of the Plate Fleets from *America* could ſupport; but after all, above ſeven of theſe Provinces rent themſelves quite from the Dominion of *Spain*, and erected themſelves into a *Free State*; nor till the Duke of *Bavaria* became their Governour, would the Kings of *Spain* truſt the Inhabitants of thoſe which continued in their Subjection, with Arms to defend themſelves againſt the *French*, whereby the Government of thoſe Countries became more chargeable to *Spain* than it could ſupport; yet ſo weak, that they could not reſiſt the Inſults of the *French*, nor the revolted Provinces: And in this State *Spain* ſtood when King *James* became King of *England*, and ſo continued (except the Truce made in 1609) till the Treaty at *Munſter* in 1648.

It hath been obſerved by me in *the Treatiſes of the Reaſon of the Decay of the Strength, Wealth, and Trade of* England, and alſo of *the equal Danger of the Church and State*, &c. of *England*, how much the State of *England* reſembles that of *Spain*; for if the Excurſion of the *Spaniards* into *America*, ſo much diſpeoples *Spain*, ſo does the Excurſion of the Inhabitants of *England* into our *American* Plantations, and in repeopling *Ireland* diſpeople *England*; and if the *Inquiſition* in *Spain*, be a Bar to keep out Supplies in *Spain* for their Expence into *America*, ſo is the Law againſt naturalizing of Foreigners here in *England*.

It is true, no Law, or Uſage in *England*, forbids Marriage to any, for ſupplying future Generations, yet I'll leave it to the Reader to judge, if, as the Caſe ſtands in *England*, it be not worſe than if Marriage were forbidden to the ordinary and meaner ſort of *People* in *England*; for in all the Countries of *England* more poor Children are born, than can be employed in Rural or Country Affairs, and their poor Parents have

not

not means to bind them Apprentice in Market-Towns and Corporations, which exclude all other from Trading with them, but thoſe which have been bound Apprentice, and ſerved their Apprenticeſhip: Nay, the 5th Act of *Eliz. cap.* 4. excludes all from being bound Apprentices, but the Children of Freemen, or ſuch whoſe Parents had 40 Shill. *per Ann.* and by the Act of *Eliz.* 31. 7. no Cottages ſhall be built in Country Villages, which ſhall not have 4 Acres of Ground annexed to them, which poor Labourers cannot do; ſo that the poor Children not being permitted to inhabit in Country Villages, and excluded out of Market-Towns and Corporations, are forced either to fly their Country, or to be Tapſters, Oſtlers and Drawers, Alehouſe-keepers, or Strong-Water-ſellers, if they can get a Licence: So little was the Intereſt of the Nation underſtood heretofore; for the Strength and Wealth of every Nation is founded in the Number and Induſtry of the Natives; and therefore to neglect to inſtruct Youth how to employ themſelves, or to debar any Man from the Benefit of his honeſt Employment, is not only unjuſt but impolitick.

And as theſe Corporations, in excluding other Men, are unjuſt and impolitick, ſo are they dangerous to the Government otherwiſe, as they are Marks of Faction and Diſtinction in it; and as they make themſelves to be the only Free-men in them, whereby they exclude the reſt of the Nation: Now let's ſee what a Sort of Men theſe are which claim theſe Prerogatives over the reſt of the Subjects of the Nation, but generally a Sort of Shop-keepers, Retailers, and wholeſale Men, who neither labour, nor are otherwiſe of any Uſe to the Government; but by the Prerogatives of their Freedom, ſet what Price they pleaſe upon the Labour of poor Artificers, (who are the Soul of the Nation) and impoſe what Rates they pleaſe to the Buyers of theſe again of them; whereby their Riches ariſe from the Oppreſſion of the Labourer, while they are idle; and by impoſing upon the Nobility, Gentry, and others, in ſelling: Whereas it's ſaid, and I believe it, that in *Holland*, a Re-

tailer (or if you will, a Foreſtaller) is not permitted, unleſs to them who are reputed honeſt, and by Misfortune are fallen into Decay; ſo that as *London* grows rich by its Freedom of Trade with the Nation, ſo *Amſterdam*, and other Towns in *Holland*, grow rich by foreign Trade.

The Act 3 *Jac. c. 6.* is of better Authority than any thing I can ſay, and more livelily deſcribes the manifold Miſchiefs and Abuſes both to the King and Kingdom, which attended our foreign Trades by Companies, excluſive to other Subjects of the Nation: I'll only, therefore, obſerve this in it, which the Act does not; That theſe Companies who manage foreign Trades excluſive to other Men, are more tyrannous and injurious to their Fellow-Subjects than any of their Enemies are, as has been ſhewed in the *Eaſt India* and *African* Companies, and hereby have no reaſon to expect any Aſſiſtance from the Nation to ſupport them, againſt the Inſults of the *Dutch* and *French* upon them; for why ſhould the Nation aſſiſt them, who have rent themſelves from the Nation, and are more Enemies to it than any other?

But over and above theſe unhappy Accidents, which ſo highly contributed to the weakning of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, we may add another, that proved no leſs fatal and deſtructive, and that was Queen *Elizabeth's* deſtroying their invincible *Armada* in the Year 1588. and her ſacking and burning of *Cales* in 1595. wherein was deſtroyed ſuch an incredible Maſs of Wealth, that the *Spaniards* never after were formidable either by Sea or Land; and this was [illegible] much the more, by how much *Philip* the 3d proved to be a weak, effeminate Prince, wholly governed by Favourites.

Having taken a View of *England* and *Spain*, and compared the State of them, we'll ſee how they ſtand in reference to *France*, which lies between them, and ſo becomes a neighbouring Nation to them both: *France*, tho' it be not threefold greater than *England*, yet it is manifoldly more peopled in that Proportion, and more abounding with great, rich, and populous Towns; and tho' it be not an Iſland, yet it has the

Britiſh

Britiſh Sea on the North, the *Atlantick* Ocean on the Weſt, and the *Mediterranean* Sea on the South; ſo that in its Situation, it's better placed for Trade, than if it had been an Iſland, having *Spain*, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, *Lorain*, *Germany*, *Savoy* and *Italy*, to trade to by Land.

Henry the 4th of *France*, after he had ſubdued the Popiſh League, and made a Peace with the *Spaniard* at *Vervins*, in 1597, ſecured the Murmurs of the *Reformed*, by the famous Edict of *Nants*; and being a Prince not leſs prudent in Counſel, than victorious in War, as well to divert the *French* from their mutinous and quarrelling Humour, as to increaſe the Riches of *France*, gave all imaginable Encouragement to the Inhabitants in Manufactures, the Principles whereof abound more in *France*, than any other Country, except *England*; yet added to them the breeding Silk-worms, and by the lively Ingenuity of the *French*, improved Silk-Manufactures above any other Country.

Here take notice of the Benefit which ariſes to any Nation by the Employment of People in Manufactures, above other Countries, where the Inhabitants are not employed: For, ſuppoſe a Million of People in *France* were thus employed, and thoſe yearly earned 20 *l. per Ann.* the Employment of theſe People are twenty Millions Benefit yearly to *France*, and this Money generally diſtributed among the Workmen; and whatever of theſe Manufactures are vended in foreign Trade, theſe will be ſo much an enriching to it; whereas if theſe had not been employed, they would have been at leaſt five Millions a Year burden to it, and *France* would have been in ſo much a worſe State to have ſupported them; whereas if the People be not employed, as in *Spain*, the Diſtribution of the Treaſure out of the *Indies* is not only unequally diſtributed, but the Charge of maintaining the Religious and idle Perſons, moſt miſerable and intolerable. Let's now ſee the State of *England*, by the 5th Act of *Eliz. c.* 4. excluding the *Engliſh* Natives, not Free-men, from working in Market-Towns and Corporations. We'll take a very modeſt Eſtimate herein; and ſuppoſe but 10000

yearly

yearly (ſcarce one in a Pariſh) be excluded, ſo that hereby the Nation loſes their Employment; this, at 20*l. per Ann.* will be 200000 Pounds a Year loſs to the Nation, beſides the Charge of maintaining them, if they do not fly out of the Kingdom, for want of Subſiſtence in it; and I pray what does the Wholeſale and Retail Trades of Shop-keepers in them, contribute to the Support of this, or of what Benefit are they otherwiſe to the Nation?

Henry the 4th having thus employed the Natives of *France*, and having few Plantations to exhauſt it, tho' *France* drove no foreign Trade by Sea, yet by permitting the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Hamburghers*, to trade into *France* by Sea, and the *Germans* by Land, it's ſcarce credible, after the long Civil Wars in *France*, in the Space of but 13 Years (for it was no longer between the Peace at *Vervins* in 1597, and his Death) what incredible Treaſure [illegible]med, if ſo great an Author as *Meſſeray* did not affirm it; whereupon he nouriſhed a Deſign of new modelling all the Weſtern Parts of *Chriſtendom*, (except *Britain* and *Ireland*, which he knew would not hinder him in it) and *Meſſary* did not doubt but he had means enough to have accompliſh'd it, if he had lived; but when his Foot was in the Stirrup to have accompliſhed this, *Ravillac* put a full Stop to his Career.

Yet *France* had in it no Mines of Gold or Silver, no more than *England* hath; and the Treaſure which *England* acquires, is by the Vent of our Woollen Manufactures, and our Lead and Tin; and ſo much more as the Natives are leſs employed in theſe, and theſe are leſs in foreign Trade, by reſtraining the Vent to *Engliſh* Men, and more to *Engliſh* Companies, ſo much leſs Treaſure will the Nation acquire, and the Natives be leſs employed.

As *France* thus abounds in People more than either *England* or *Spain*, whereby they acquire ſuch vaſt Wealth above them, by permitting Foreigners to trade with them; ſo are the *French* Nobility (which include the Gentry) of a warlike and aſpiring Temper; and if this had not uſually excited them into inteſtine Broils and Tumults, as Secretary *Trevor* obſerves,

obſerves, all their Neighbour Nations could not have ſet bounds to their ambitious Humour.

But the Proſperity of *France* no ways daunted Queen *Elizabeth*, ſo that *Henry* the 4th deſigning to build ſome great Men of War at *Breſt*, ſhe forbid the King's making any further Progreſs in it, or ſhe would fire all the Ships in his Harbours; whereupon this great Hero deſiſted; nor would ſhe permit the *Dutch* to build any great Ships, but ſhe would have an Account of them; and ſo having the *Brill*, *Ramakins*, and *Fluſhing*, the Keys of the Rivers of the *Maes* and *Scheld*, in her Hands, ſhe died with an uncontrouled Dominion of the Seas, and Arbitreſs of *Chriſtendom*: And in this State King *James* took Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*, with all its Dependences, to which he added that of *Scotland*, whoſe Reign is now ripe to be expoſed.

A DETECTION OF THE COURT and STATE of *England*, During the REIGN of King *JAMES* I. &c.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

A Detection of this Reign, till the Diſſolution of the firſt Parliament.

A.D. 1603 A Better View may appear of this Reign, if we look back to the Beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and compare it with that of this King's Reign, when he came to joyn the Crowns of *England* and *Ireland* to that of *Scotland*, and thereby became the greateſt Monarch that governed *England* ſince King *John*, except it was in the Reign of *Henry* the Fifth, and ſome time of the Reign of *Henry* the

the Sixth, when *Normandy*, and ſo great a Part of *France*, was ſubdued to the Dominion of the Crown of *England*. *A. Reg.* 1.

This Kingdom was never in ſo low an Ebb of Reputation, and ſo dangerous a State both at home and abroad, as when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown; her Father, Brother and Siſter, in debt, and the Navy Royal neglected and out of Repair; yet the Revenues of the Crown, beſides the Court of Wards and the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, I ſay, the Profits of the Kingdom were but 188179 *l.* 4 *s.* the Kingdom imbroiled in inteſtine Heats in Religion, and *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain* aſpiring to an unlimited Dominion in and out of *Europe*; *Calais*, notwithſtanding the united Intereſt of *England* with *Spain*, but ſome Months before loſt to the *French*; and *Francis*, the Dauphin of *France*, in right of his Wife *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, laying claim to the Crown of *England*.

Whereas, when King *James* came to be King of *England*, the Kingdom was in entire Peace within, and in a martial State, and full of Honour and Reputation abroad; the Royal Navy not only Superiour to any other in the World in Strength, but in good Repair; few Debts left charged upon the Crown: Yet if the Exchequer were not repleniſhed with Money, the King received Three entire Subſidies, and ſix fifteens of the 4 Subſidies, and eight fifteens granted to the Queen for ſuppreſſing the *Iriſh* Rebellion, and carrying on the War againſt *Spain* ſome Months before, though both the Rebellion, and War with *Spain* ceaſed that Year he became King; the Cuſtoms for ſupporting the Navy, more than fivefold they were in the Beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and above two Millions and four hundred Thouſand Pounds due from the States of *Holland* (or the *United Netherlands*) but how the States became diſcharged of it, it's fit to premiſe it there, and how it became due to Queen *Elizabeth*; and ſo to the Crown of *England*. *State of the Kingdom on the King's coming to the Crown.*

Queen *Elizabeth*, though ſhe refuſed to accept of the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces*, when ſhe took them into Protection, after the Expulſion of the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Death of the Prince

A.D.1603 of *Orange*, yet ſhe entred into a Treaty with the States, *Anno* 1585. wherein it was agreed, That the *Dutch* ſhould repay her all the Monies which ſhe ſhould expend for their Preſervation, with Intereſt at 10 *per Cent.* when the War was ended with *Spain*; and that two *Engliſh*, whom the Queen ſhould name, ſhould be admitted into their Council of State, and for Security whereof the *Dutch* ſhould deliver up to her *Fluſhing*, *Ramakins*, and the *Brill*, which were the Keys of their Country.

Upon this Agreement the Queen, for the *Dutch*'s further Encouragement, gave them Licence to fiſh upon the Coaſt of *England*, which ſhe denied them when they continued in their Subjection to King *Philip*; and removed the Staple of the *Engliſh Woollen Manufactures* from *Antwerp*, in the Power of the King of *Spain*, to *Delf*, in the *Dutch* Po[illegible], and it is ſcarce credible, how in ſo ſhort a time after, *viz.* ſcarce thirteen Years, the *Dutch* entertaining all ſorts of People, who were perſecuted upon the Account of not ſubmitting to the Papal Uſurpations, ſwelled their Trade and Navigation, not only in *Europe*, but in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*.

The Queen conſidering this Encreaſe of the *Dutch* Trade and Navigation was as much to the leſſening of the *Engliſh*; and being provoked by the Ingratitude of the *Loveſtein* Faction, whereof one *Olden Barnevelt* was the Head (a Fellow as factious and turbulent, as ungrateful) by whoſe Counſel another Aſſembly was erected at *Amſterdam*, call'd *The Convention of the States General*, wherein they managed all the ſecret and important Affairs of their State, and out of which they excluded the *Engliſh*.

The Queen, I ſay, highly incenſed at the Ingratitude of this Faction, which now governed all in *Holland*, and yet continuing to ſupport them at the Charge of 120000 *l. per Ann.* ſignified to the States her Intention of making Peace with the King of *Spain*; which if ſhe did, it would be impoſſible for them to continue their War with *Spain*, and recover their Cautionary-Towns from the Queen.

Hereupon the States ſent my Lord *Warmond* as their humble Supplicant to the Queen, and in the

loweſt

loweſt Poſture of Humility acknowledged themſelves obliged to her for infinite Benefits; and that as her Majeſty excelled the Glory of her Anceſtors in Power, ſo ſhe excelled them in Acts of Piety and Mercy, but pleaded Poverty for not Repayment of the Money the Queen had expended for their Preſervation. The Queen in Anſwer to them ſaid, ſhe had been often deceived by their deceitful Supplications, and ungrateful Actions, and Pretence of Poverty, when their Power and Riches confuted them; and that ſhe hoped God would not ſuffer her to be a Pattern to other Princes to help ſuch a People, who bear no Reverence to Superiors, nor take care for the Advantage, Reputation or Safety of any but themſelves. The *Dutch* were confounded at the Queen's Anſwer, ſubmitted themſelves to ſuch Terms as the Queen ſhould lay upon them; and the Queen wiſely conſidering if ſhe ſhould caſt them off, *Henry* the 4th of *France*, who the laſt Year, *viz.* 1597. had concluded a Peace with *Spain* at *Vervins*, by the Interpoſition of the Pope's Nuncio, and ſought to be Protector of the States, whereby the Queen would not only be in danger to loſe their Dependance, but the Monies ſhe had expended in their Support, they came to this Agreement. *A. Reg.* 1.

1. *That upon an Account ſtated, there was eight Millions of Crowns, or two Millions Sterling due to the Queen, for which they were to pay Ten* per Cent. *ſo long as the War laſted.* 2. *That during the War they ſhould pay the Queen one hundred thouſand Pounds yearly, and the Remainder when Peace with* Spain *was concluded, and then to have their Cautionary Towns ſurrendred back to them.* 3. *That till this Agreement was performed, the States were to pay Fifteen hundred* Engliſh *in Garriſon in them.* We leave this Agreement here till we hear more of it hereafter.

There were but thirteen Months between this King's Birth and Reign, his Mother being depoſed to make Room for his coming to be King; and by this Title he reigned twenty Years in his Mother's Life, and during that Time he never made uſe of her Name

Became K. of Scotland when an Infant, and the Difficulties that attended him.

A.D. 1603. Name in the Coin of *Scotland*, nor in any Proclamation or Law; and after her Death, continued his Reign by this Title to his dying Day: Which was inconſiſtent with the Flatteries which his Favourites buz'd continually in his Ears, That he was King by inherent Birthright, and that he held his Crown from God alone: And ſo pleaſing was this Doctrine to him, that above all other Things he ſet himſelf upon it, not only in magnifying himſelf herein in his Speeches in Parliament, but in his Writings againſt *Bellarmine* and *Peron*, againſt the Pope's depoſing Kings.

In his Infancy and Minority the Regents and Nobility made Havock of the Crown and Church Revenues, ſo as when he came to Age, he had but little left to ſupport his Crown and Dignity; but by how much he became leſſened hereby, the Nobility became ſo much greater, and to ſupport themſelves, held a Correſpondence with Queen *Elizabeth*, who tho' ſhe countenanced the Nobility, yet ſhe allowed the King a yearly Penſion of 4000 *l. per Ann.* in his Minority, and 10000 *l. per Ann.* after he came to Age, and hereby kept both the King and Nobility depending on her.

As the Nobility, in his Minority, made him ſo poor, ſo the Kirk-party juſtled him in his Throne, by making themſelves a diſtinct Table from the Secular or Temporal Power, not only in Matters purely Spiritual, but in holding General Aſſemblies, and all Matters which related to what they pleaſed to call *The Kingdom of Chriſt*; and were ſo zealous, I will not ſay *Rude*, herein, that they made it a Duty incumbent upon the Temporal Power, to paſs the Acts of their General Aſſemblies into Laws: And, in truth, they expreſſed but little Civility to the King, in whatſoever they applied themſelves to him, as if it were his Duty to do whatſoever they would have him; and without his Conſent, even to croſs him, would ordain Faſting-days, and ſometimes upon Sundays: And hating Epiſcopal Government, it was very troubleſome to the Regents in his Minority, as well as to the King, to retain the Name of a Biſhop after they aſſumed to them-

themſelves the Power. Queen *Elizabeth* was no better Friend to this Kirk-party than the King, tho' ſhe winkt at it, and was the more provoked againſt it, by *Knocks*'s Book which he wrote againſt *Gynarchy*; and from hence it was King *James* took the eaſier Impreſſion of Flatterers, and was ſo zealous a Defender of Biſhops, that in a Conference at *Hampton-Court*, in the firſt Year of his Reign, he held it for a Maxim, *No Biſhop, no King.* *A. Reg.* 1

The Tears which all true *Engliſh* ſhed for the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, who died the 24th of *March*, 1602. were ſoon wiped off, by the Acceſſion of King *James* to this Crown, the antient Feuds between the Nations of *England* and *Scotland* were reconciled; and *Stow* in his Annals, gives a particular Account of his moſt magnificent and joyful Reception, day by day, from *Berwick* to *London*, yet with this Blot in his Scutcheon, That when he came to *Newark*, he firſt diſcovered his Diſpoſition to Arbitrary Government; for being told that one had cut a Purſe there, the King without any Legal Proceſs, or the Defence of the Party, ſigned a Warrant to the Sheriff of *Lincolnſhire* to hang him, which was executed accordingly.

This put no Check to the Jollity of the People, but the nearer he came to *London*, the greater was the Concourſe and Acclamations of the People, tho' by his Proclamation (of which never any Prince was ſo prodigal) he had forbid it, becauſe it raiſed ſo much Duſt as proved troubleſome in his Paſſage; and upon the 11th of *May* he came to *London*, where, being a Prince above all others addicted to Hunting, as his firſt care, upon the 16th iſſued out another Proclamation forbidding all manner of Perſons killing Deer, and all kinds of Wild-fowl uſed for Hunting and Hawking, upon Pain of the ſeveral Laws and Penalties to be executed upon them.

The Foreign World abroad were aſtoniſhed at this King's peaceable and joyful Settlement in *England*, and were as forward to congratulate him in it, as his Subjects were to receive him; and herein the *Dutch* were the firſt that addreſſed themſelves to make their Market of him, and ſent over the youngeſt *Congratulated by the Dutch*

A.D.1603 Son of *William* Prince of *Orange*, one *Fulk*, and *Barnevelt*, who (in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* lay covered in his Faction at *Amſterdam*, as Tortoiſes do under Ground in the Winter) now the *Dutch* deſigning to make their Harveſt in this King's Reign, came abroad, as Tortoiſes do in the Spring, to diſpoſe him to it: But the *Dutch* needed not have been ſo forward herein, for the King was environed with thoſe which ſhould do their Work, better than *Barnevelt* could have done it.

The *Spaniards*, after the Loſs of their *Armada* in 1588, and the Loſs ſuſtained in the Sacking of *Cadiz*, in 1595, declined as faſt in Power and Reputation, as the *Dutch* grew greater both in *Europe*, and the *Weſt Indies*. But *Philip* the 2d dying about three Years before Queen *Elizabeth*, the former Feuds became much abated, and *Philip* the 3d ſucceeding, a young Prince (*Nani* ſays) of ſingular Piety (he means devoted to the *Romiſh* Superſtition) but wholly unacquainted with Government, and contenting himſelf with the Royal Dignity, left the Power to his Favourites and Miniſters, and of whom *Nani* in his fourth Book, *Anno* 1621, makes this notable Remark as to his Death; That it remained a Doubt, whether in an Age proclaimed by the Wrath of Heaven to the Mockery of Favourites, the King would not have taken upon himſelf the Government, when Death in the 43d Year of his Age takes him away from the Troubles which Empire carries with it? His Years ſurely would have been more memorable, if he had been born a private Man rather than a King; becauſe being better adorned with Ornaments of Life, than endowed with Skill to command; as Goodneſs, Piety and Continence, placed him in an higher degree than ordinary Subjects; to his Diſapplication to Government, rendred him lower than was fit or neceſſary. By publick Defects private Virtues being corrupted, and [illegible] keeping his Mind in Idleneſs, it was believed that he reſerved nothing for himſelf to do, but to conſent to all that his Favourites had a Mind to.

Thus the Government of the World recommended to Princes, as the true Shepherds, falls into mer-

cenary

tenary Hands, making themſelves not underſtood but by the Sound of the Voice of Intereſt; and the Authority of Ambition; the People ſuffer Ruin and Calamity, and the Princes themſelves render an Account to God of that Talent, which they have ſuffered their Miniſters to make Marchandice of. It is certain, *Philip* in the Agony of his Death, was not ſo much comforted with calling to mind his innocent Life, as he was troubled with the Sting of Conſcience for his Omiſſions in Government. *A. Reg.* 1.

This Character, how parallel ſoever it was with King *Charles* the Firſt, tho' I do not find he had any Sting of Conſcience for his Omiſſions and Tranſgreſſions in Government, which brought upon himſelf and the Nation all the Miſeries and Calamities of the late Civil Wars; and wherein he perſiſted to the laſt; bears no Proportion to the voluptuous and diſſolute Life of King *James*, accompanied with his profane Swearing in Paſſion, and even in his uſual Converſation, whereby he became not only contemptible, but by his Example, the Generality of the *Engliſh* Nation became debauch'd in their Manners and Converſation, to the Scandal and Contempt of it in other Nations.

The Death of *Philip* the 2d, made the Paſſage to a Peace between *England* and *Spain*, more ſmooth and eaſy. Yet *Philip* the 3d, before he would openly ſeek it, by an Ambaſſador from the Arch-Duke *Albert* (Governor of *Flanders*) felt the Pulſe of the Court, how it ſtood affected, which beat high towards it, ſo as ſoon after it followed; which, as it was moſt beneficial to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo it had been to *Spain*, if it had been as ſincerely obſerved by King *James*, as it was by *Philip*. *Makes a Peace with Spain.*

Henry the 4th of *France*, tho' ſpited, as 'twas ſaid, that King *James* ſhould not only come ſo peaceably, but with univerſal Acclamations to the Crown of *England*, whereas he laboured with ſuch Difficulty above ſeven Years to attain that of *France*, and at laſt was forced to a diſhonourable Submiſſion to the Pope, *Clement* VIII. Yet being a Prince of great Prudence in Peace, as well as fortunate and victorious in War, ſent Monſieur *de Roſny*, Great Treaſurer

A.D. 1603. ſurer of *France*, to renew the Treaty of Peace and Commerce formerly made between Queen *Elizabeth* and him, which was without any difficulty done.

The King being thus at Peace abroad and at home, not only in *England*, but in *Ireland*, as if the Wars expired there with Queen *Elizabeth*, he not only pardoned the Earl of *Tyrone*, the Head of that Rebellion, but by Proclamation declar'd he was reſtor'd to the King's Favour, and to be honourably uſed of all Men.

But how pleaſing ſoever the King's coming to the Crown of *England* was to the *Engliſh* Nation, it ſeems it was not ſo to God; for an horrible Plague, greater than any ſince that in the Reign of *Edward* III. accompanied his coming in. There were two Factions now in *England*, diſtinguiſh'd by the Names of *Puritans* and *Papiſts*, both diſſenting from the Religion eſtabliſh'd in the Church: the King hated thoſe, and wrote againſt theſe, chiefly for their Doctrine of the Pope's Power of depoſing Kings: Theſe received the King after different manners; the *Puritans* had a huge Expectation of his Favour, becauſe he was bred up in their Doctrine and Diſcipline; but were much deceived in it, for he rarely mention'd them but with Deteſtation; which he did not thoſe of the Popiſh Religion.

Conferences between the Puritans and Church-men.

However, in *January* they obtained a Conference with the Church-Party at *Hampton-Court*, where the King himſelf would be Moderator, whilſt moſt of the Nobility and Biſhops were Spectators. You need not doubt which Party prevail'd, the Nobility and Biſhops not only giving the King the Victory, with the Epithets of *The* Solomon *of the Age*, *The moſt Learned*, but of *being inſpired*.

But what Expectation ſoever the *Puritans* had of the King's coming to the Crown, the *Papiſts* had another Leſſon taught them; for tho' the [illegible] Conſpiracy againſt the Perſon of Queen *Eliz*[illegible] upon the Death of the Queen of *Scots*, yet did not the Pope's Deſigns upon the Kingdom of *England* do ſo; but *Clement* VIII. in the Year 1600, ſent Orders to his Emiſſaries in *England*, that the Catholicks ſhould admit none to ſucceed the Queen, but one obedi-

obedient to the Holy See; and in conformity hereunto, *Watſon* and *Clark*, two *Romiſh* Prieſts, joined in *Cobham*'s Conſpiracy, to have kept the King from coming to the Crown, and were executed for it as Traytors; but the Effects of the Pope's Inſtructions did not die with *Clark* and *Watſon*, as you'll ſoon hear, and upon the 24th of *October*, 1603. a Proclamation was made for Quietneſs to be obſerved in Matters of Religion. *A. Reg.* 1.

Notwithſtanding the Rage of the Peſtilence, the firſt Nine Months after the King's coming to *London*, all were Halcyon-Days, Proclamations, Pageants, Feaſtings, Creation of Lords and Knights, Reception of Foreign Ambaſſadors, erecting a Maſter of the Ceremonies after the Mode of *France*, &c. and in this Time the Dignified Clergy, and thoſe who courted to be ſo with the Favourites at Court, with whom the *Civilians* chimed in, had ſo rooted their Doctrine of the King's Abſolute Power, and that, notwithſtanding his Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland* in the Life of his Mother, he ſucceeded by inherent Birthright; and that Primogeniture is the Gift of God by the Law of Nature; and that in his Perſon was reconciled all the Titles of our *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, and *Norman* Race of Kings; that being propenſly diſpoſed to receive the Impreſſions, they took ſuch deep Root in him, that in all his Life after he would never with Patience, hear any thing to the contrary. But we will ſtay a little, and ſee how inconſiſtently theſe Flatterers jumbled an Abſolute and Hereditary Monarchy together, and how this King reconciled the Titles of the *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, and *Norman* Titles to the Crown. *King aſſumes himſelf on his Hereditary Right.*

For no Hereditary Monarch that ever reigned in this World, but derived his Title from an Anceſtor who had no Hereditary Right; nor did ever any Hereditary King ſucceed, but to govern by Laws and Cuſtoms which were eſtabliſhed before he became King: So, however Abſolute may be applicable to Conquerors, yet it is inconſiſtent with Hereditary Kings, eſpecially in a regular Monarchy, as that of *England* is, and thoſe of old, as of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, where the Will of the King alone, could

A.D.1603 not alter the Laws and Conſtitutions of them. And now let us ſee how King *James* came to claim his Crown by inherent Birthright, and how all the *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, and *Norman* Titles came to be reconciled in his Perſon.

It's evident to me, that tho' only God can make an Heir, and that tho' Primogeniture be natural, yet God, in diſpoſing Kingdoms, is not obliged to it (tho' *Grotius* is pleaſed to ſay, The Law of Nature is immutable by God himſelf;) but reſerves unto himſelf the Prerogative of diſpoſing Kingdoms, without reſtraining the Succeſſion of the King to Primogeniture, or Hereditary Succeſſion. Here let us ſee in Epitome, which you may read at large in divers Hiſtorians, that tho' the Kings of *England*, both before and after the Conqueſt, ſucceeded in their Royal Families, yet many more were not in the Right Line, than in it; and tho' before *Cæſar* invaded *Britain*, there was no other Government but Kingly, yet *Britain* was divided into ſo many petty Kingdoms, that tho' it had not been barbarous, it would have been as difficult to have wrote the Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of their Kings, as to have wrote the Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the Kings immediately after the Flood.

After the *Roman* Empire, (oppreſſed by its own Weight, by the Diviſion into Eaſtern and Weſtern, its inteſtine Jars, and the Overflowing of barbarous Nations) was ſo torn and ſhaken, that the Legions which govern'd *Britain*, were recalled by *Ætius* (the *Roman* General under *Honorius* and *Valentinian* III.) to make Head againſt *Attila*; the poor *Britains* diſarmed, and only made uſe of to ſerve their imperious Maſters, and ſo utterly deſtitute of martial Diſcipline, eaſily became a Prey to the *Picts* and *Scots*, who treated them more intolerably and tyrannically than the *Romans* had done: For Redreſs whereof, the *Britains* ſought Succours from the *Engliſh Saxons*, who came to their Relief in the Year 409 (as *Bede* ſays, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 15. of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation*) but theſe *Saxons* uſed the poor *Britains* worſt of all, and expelled the whole Race of them out of that part of the Iſland now called *England*.

Tho'

Tho' the *Saxons* had their Wills of the *Britains*, they were before the *Heptarchy* at continual Variance among themſelves, and ſo after, that it is almoſt as unaccountable to give a Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of their Kings, as it was of the *Britains* before *Julius Cæſar*. about the Year 800, was called the Firſt of the *Saxon* Monarchs (tho' the Kingdom of the *Mercians* was not united to his Monarchy) who by Merit as well as Birth, obtained the Dignity, and ſucceeded *Brithric*. *Ethelwolph* ſucceeded *Egbert* in the Kingdom of *Weſtſax*, but not to thoſe of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Eaſtſax*, or *Eſſex*; theſe being given by *Egbert* to *Ethelſtan*, *Egbert*'s younger Son. *Ethelwolph* by his Will divided his Kingdoms between his two eldeſt Sons, *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*; to *Ethelbald* he gave the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, to *Ethelbert* the Kingdom of *Kent*, and the Eaſtern, Southern, and Middle Angles. But there were two other Sons, *Ethelred* and *Alfred*. *Ethelbert*, after the Death of *Ethelbald*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and after the Death of *Ethelbert*, *Ethelred* ſucceeded in the whole, *viz.* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and of the Kingdoms of *Kent*, the Eaſtern, Southern, and Middle Angles. *Alfred*, after the Death of *Ethelred*, by univerſal Applauſe, the famous, the youngeſt Son of *Ethelwolph*, ſucceeded. *Edward* Son of *Alfred*, was choſen by the Nobles on *Whitſunday*, in 901. *Athelſtan*, after the Death of *Alfred* (tho' a Baſtard) was elected by the Nobles, of whom 'twas ſaid, There was nothing ignoble in him. But *Athelſtan* dying without Iſſue, his younger Brother *Edmund* ſucceeded him without any Oppoſition; and tho' he left two Sons, *Edwy* and *Edgar*, yet *Edred* (*Edmund*'s younger Brother) ſucceeded him. *Edwy*, after *Edred*'s Death (*Edred*'s elder Brother's elder Son) ſucceeded; but being a vicious Prince, the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* choſe *Edgar* his younger Brother King in the Life of *Edwy*; and *Edgar*, after the Death of *Edwy*, became King of the whole Nation. *Edward*, Son of *Edgar*, after his Death, was choſen by the Biſhops and Nobles, by the Command of his Father *Edgar*; but he being murder'd by his Stepmother *Elfrid*, *Edward*'s younger Brother *Ethelred* ſucceeded: And after his Death,

A. Reg. 1.

Digreſſion concerning the Succeſſion of the Saxon Kings.

A.D. 1603. the *Saxon* Monarchy being rent in pieces by the *Danes* and *Saxons*, *Edmund Ironſide*, (Son of *Ethelred*, by an obſcure mean Woman) tho' he had two half-legitimate younger Brothers, *Edward* and *Alfred*, born of *Emma*, *Ethelred*'s Wife) was choſen King by one part of the Nobility, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, by another. Thus the whole legitimate Race of the *Saxon* Kings were excluded; one part chuſing *Ironſide*, a Baſtard, the other *Canutus*, a Stranger to the *Saxon* Royal Race.

Edmund Ironſide being treacherouſly murder'd by his Brother-in-law *Edric*, *Edmund* leaving two Sons, *Edwy* and *Edward*, *Canutus* the *Dane* became ſole Monarch of the *Saxon* Monarchy: ſo that this was the beginning of the *Daniſh* Dynaſty, which laſted not long. *Harold*, Son of *Canutus*, ſucceeded him; and *Hardicanute*, his Brother, ſucceeded *Harold*, neither the Iſſue of *Ethelred*, *Edward*, or *Alfred*, nor *Edwy* or *Edward*, the Sons of *Edmund Ironſide*, ſo much as taken notice of: With this *Hardicanute* ended the *Daniſh* Rule, with the Slaughter and Expulſion of the *Danes*.

Edward, Son of *Ethelred*, called the *Confeſſor* (Uncle to *Edwy* and *Edward*, Sons of *Edmund Ironſide*) after *Hardicanute*, was advanced to the Royal Dignity; principally by means of Earl *Goodwin*, upon the account of *Edward*'s marrying the Earl's Daughter; ſo little was the Hereditary Succeſſion of the *Saxon* Kings regarded: And that *Edward*'s Reign might be more ſecure, this Earl *Goodwin* cauſed the Eyes of *Alfred*, the King's Brother, to be put out, and, ſome ſay, took away his Life.

Edward the Confeſſor, growing old, having no Iſſue, and the Family of the wicked Earl *Goodwin* growing not only inſolent, but intolerable to him, declared *Edward* the Son of *Edmund Ironſide* (his Couſin) his Heir: And to the end he might better ſucceed, the King ſent to the King of *Hungary* to return his Nephew *Edward* (whom the King of *Hungary* had married to his Niece *Agatha*, Daughter to *Henry* Emperor of *Germany*) which the King of *Hungary* did; and upon *Edward*'s Return, the *Confeſſor* declared, that he or his Sons ſhould ſucceed in his Hereditary Kingdom of *England*. But the *Confeſſor* did not long hold in this Mind; for his Nephew *Edward* ſoon after dying,

dying, and leaving a Son *Edgar* unfit for Govern- *A. Reg.* 1.
ment, either as to his Body or Courage; he decreed
that his Kinſman *William* Duke of *Normandy* (though
a Baſtard) ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom of
England, which came to paſs; and ſo a new Race of
Kings ſucceeded in *England* of the *Norman* Race, whoſe
original Title was from a Grant of a King of the *Saxon*
Race; and ſo the beginning creates little Title to an
Hereditary Succeſſion in the *Norman* Race. And now
we'll ſee how an Hereditary Succeſſion was obſerved
in it; yet as in the *Saxon*, ſo in the *Norman* Kings,
none ſucceeded who was not of the Royal Blood.

The ſame of the Kings of Norman Race.

William Rufus, the ſecond Son of the Conqueror,
ſucceeded, his elder Brother *Robert* then alive: ſo
did *Henry* I. his elder Brother *Robert* living. *Stephen*,
the Son of the Conqueror's Siſter, ſucceeded *Henry*,
tho' *Henry* left a Daughter *Maud* or *Matilda*. *Henry* II.
ſucceeded *Stephen*, *Maud*, *Henry*'s Mother, yet living;
ſo his Succeſſion was not Hereditary, for *Hæres non eſt
viventis*. *Richard* I. ſucceeded *Henry* II. *John* ſuc-
ceeded *Richard*; *Arthur* the Son of *Jeffery*, *John*'s elder
Brother, then alive. *Henry* III. ſucceeded *John*, *Elea-
nor Arthur*'s Siſter then alive. So that of Seven Suc-
ceſſions after the Conqueror, but one, *Richard* I. ſuc-
ceeded as Heir to his Father, or the Conqueror.

Admit *Edward* I. ſucceeded as Heir to *Henry* III.
and *Edward* II. as Heir to *Edward* I. yet *Edward* III.
did not ſucceed as Heir to *Edward* II. he being then
alive. Admit *Richard* II. was Heir to *Edward* the
Black Prince, eldeſt Son to *Edward* III. yet neither
Henry the IVth, Vth, or VIth, were Heirs from
Edward III. but the Deſcendants of *Phillippa*, the
Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunt*'s
elder Brother. So that of the Succeſſion of Fourteen
Kings after the Conqueror, there were but four, *viz.*
Richard the Firſt, *Edward* the Firſt and Second, and
Richard the Second, which ſucceeded as Heirs to the
Conqueror, or his Heirs.

Admit *Edward* IV. ſucceeded right, as Heir to *Phil-
lippa*, Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*; yet if it be
true, which *Richard* III. ſays (and is confirmed by
the Authority of the Act of Parliament) that *Edward*
was contracted to *Eleanor Boteler*, before he married

Eliza-

A.D.1603. *Elizabeth*, then did not *Edward* V. ſucceed right, nor could *Henry* VII. claim any Right to the Crown of *England* in Right of his Wife *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV. But whether it be true or not, that *Edward* was contracted to *Eleanor Boteler* before his Marriage, yet *Richard* III. ſucceeded not as Heir, *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, the Son of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard*'s elder Brother, being then alive.

Of all the Kings of *England* that ſucceeded the Conqueror, *Henry* VII. had the leaſt Pretenſion to any Title to the Crown; for tho' he were ſuppoſed to have been deſcended from *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, yet it was the Duke's Paramour *Katherine Swinford*, whoſe Iſſue by the Duke, tho' by Act of Parliament they were legitimated to all other Purpoſes, yet were not capacitated to ſucceed to the Crown of *England*: but if the Title of *Lancaſter* had been preferable to that of *York*, and *Henry* had been of the legitimate Line, yet could not he have ſucceeded as Heir, his Mother, under whom he claimed, being then alive, and out-lived her Son. Nor did the King's Marriage with *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV. improve his Title to the Succeſſion, the Marriage being ſubſequent to it; and before it the Crown by Act of Parliament was entailed upon *Henry* VII. and the Heirs of his Body; and after Marriage he never uſed her Name in calling any Parliament, or in any Proclamation, or the Coin, or paſſing any Act of Parliament; and as he reigned without her before Marriage, ſo he did after her Death, tho' ſhe left two Sons, *Arthur* and *Henry*; and two Daughters, *Elizabeth*, Q. of *Scotland*, and *Mary*, after Q. of *France*.

It ſeems to me, that *Ferdinand* King of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, had the ſame Opinion which *Richard* III. and the Parliament had, that the Iſſue of *Edward* IV. were not legitimate, for he would not aſſent to the Marriage of his Daughter *Katherine* with *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, ſo long as the Earl of *Warwick* (Son of the Duke of *Clarence*) lived; and there a fine Trick was found out to put the poor Prince to Death, for endeavouring to make his Eſcape out of the *Tower* with *Perkin Warbeck*; and in him ended the maſculine Line of the Race of the *Plantagenets*, who had governed

ned the *Engliſh* Nation after *Stephen*, to *Henry* VII. above 340 Years: ſo that from the Conqueror to *Henry* VIII. ſcarce one of four of the Kings of *England* ſucceeded in a right Line, as Heirs to the Conqueror. *A. Reg.* 1.

As the *Saxon* Dynaſty ended in *Edward the Confeſſor*, and the *Norman* began in the Conqueror, ſo it ſeems to me, that the *Norman* ended in *Richard* III. and another of the *Britiſh* was erected in *Henry* VII. who was the Son of *Edmund* of *Hadham*, the Son of *Owen Tudor*, by *Katherine* Daughter of *Charles* VI. of *France*, Wife of *Henry* V. of *England*, and Mother of *Henry* VI. So that *Henry* the VIIth's Title to the Crown of *France* was better than that to the Crown of *England*; for that of *England* was from a maternal Anceſtor, *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, no otherwiſe related to the Crown of *England*, than deſcended from *John* of *Gaunt* by *Katherine Swinford* his Paramour: But I do not find that *Henry* VII. or any of his Deſcendants, ever aſſumed the Sirname of *Tudor*.

So that tho' the Crown of *England*, neither in the *Saxon* nor *Norman* Race of Kings, was always Hereditary; ſo neither was the Succeſſion to the Crown Elective: For in Elective Kingdoms, after the Death of one King, there is an Eſtabliſhment of the manner of Elections; and in the mean Time there are *Cuſtodes Regni* appointed, whoſe Power ceaſes upon the Election of a King; but neither of theſe were ever heard of in either of the *Saxon* or *Norman* Race: and tho' ſometimes it's ſaid the Kings were choſen, as of *Edward* the Son of *Alfred*, by the Nobles, and ſo of *Athelſtan*; and ſo in the *Norman* Race, *Henry* I. was ſaid to be choſen, for that he promiſed to abrogate all the Oppreſſions and Errors brought into the Government by his Father and Brother (tho' his eldeſt Brother *Robert* was then alive) and reſtore the good Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*; and *Stephen* was choſen by the Clergy and *Londoners*; yet this was rather a Form of Speaking than any formal Election; and the Manner differed according to the different Humours of the Times.

Nor do we read that ever the Parliament meddled with the Succeſſion of the Crown, before *Henry* IV. for

A.D. 1603. for tho' the firſt Parliament of *Edward* III. renounced their Allegiance to *Edward* II. and are ſaid to have choſen *Edward* III. yet they went no farther; and ſuch an Election was no more than a Declaration of their Submiſſion.

But whether the Crown of *England* was Hereditary in the *Saxon* and *Norman* Race, it's evident it was not ſo in this *Britiſh* Race; for as it began in *Henry* VII. ſo it was intailed by Act of Parliament upon him, and Heirs of his Body before his Marriage with *Elizabeth* the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV. So the inheritable Right of *Edward*'s Iſſue, and all the *Norman* Race was barred by this Act.

Before we proceed in the Succeſſion of the *Britiſh* Race, we'll take a View of the Genealogy of it: *John of Gaunt* by *Katherine Swinford* had Iſſue *John*, created Earl of *Somerſet*, who had Iſſue *John*, created Duke of *Somerſet*, who had Iſſue *Margaret*. After the Death of *Henry* V. *Katherine* his Wife (Siſter of *Charles* VI. of *France*) married *Owen Tudor*, a *Welſh* Gentleman, who had Iſſue *Edmund* of *Hadham* Earl of *Richmond*, who married *Margaret* Daughter and Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, who had Iſſue *Henry* VII.

Henry VIII. ſucceeded his Father without any Contradiction, for the Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, had deſtroyed the whole legitimate *Lancaſtrian* Line, and *Richard* III. after the Murder of his Brother *Clarence*, and Death of *Edward* IV. had murdered his two Nephews *Edward* and *Richard* (Sons of *Edward* IV.) and himſelf was killed in the Fight in *Boſworth-Fields*; and after that *Henry* VII. had put *Edward* Earl of *Warwick* to Death, none of all the Royal Line of the *Plantagenets* were left to be Competitors with him; yet his Succeſſion could not be Hereditary, for his Grandmother, under whom his Father claim'd, out-lived her Son, and ſo *Henry* VIII. could not claim from her. Yet this is obſervable, That as his Father *Henry* VII. entailed the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England* upon the Heirs of his Body; ſo by Act of Parliament, *Henry* VIII. might diſpoſe of the Succeſſion of the Crown by his Will, for want of Iſſue of his Body; ſo little was the inheritable Succeſſion of the Crown of *England* regarded by theſe Kings of the *Britiſh* Race.

It

It ſeems, the Council in *Edward* the VIth's Reign, had as little an Opinion of the Hereditary Succeſſion of the Crown, as the Parliament had in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. for by their Advice, he by his Will diſpoſed of the Succeſſion to his Couſin the Lady *Jane Gray* (Grand-daughter to *Edward*'s Aunt, *Mary* Queen of *France*) contrary to the Will of his Father *Henry* the VIIIth, which ordained his Daughter *Mary* to ſucceed *Edward*, in caſe he died without Iſſue. *A. Reg.* 1.

I ſay, that by the Law of Inheritance in *England*, *Mary* could not inherit the Crown from *Edward*, ſhe being but of Half-blood to him; and by the ſame Reaſon *Elizabeth* could not inherit to Queen *Mary*; but *Mary* the Daughter of *James* V. of *Scotland*, being of the whole Blood to *Edward*, and deſcended from the elder Daughter of *Henry* VII. could.

For the Opinion of the Judges, after King *James* came in, that the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England* differs from that of the Inheritance of Subjects in regard of an *Alien* born, and thoſe of Half-blood may inherit the Crown; it's *Gratis dictum*, and ſaid to pleaſe the King; for there never was any ſuch Uſage in *England*, nor any ſuch Act of Parliament to warrant their Opinion. But admit the Crown of *England* were inheritable from *Henry* VII. and Half-blood no Bar, yet *Mary* and *Elizabeth* could not both ſucceed; for one of them was illegitimate, *Elizabeth* being born in the Life of *Katherine* Queen *Mary*'s Mother.

If the Parliament in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. had little or no Opinion of the inheritable Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*, and therefore impower'd the King to diſpoſe of it by Will, the Parliament in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* had leſs, and therefore often petition'd her to declare her Succeſſor without Conſent in Parliament, and declar'd it 13 *Eliz. cap.* 1. to be High-Treaſon to affirm, that the Crown of *England* might not be diſpoſed of by Act of Parliament in her Life, and a *Præmunire* after her Death. Here I make theſe Remarks upon the Race of the *Plantagenets*, and the Succeſſion of the *Britiſh* Line, that as the *Plantagenets* inherited the Name from *Jeffry* Duke of *Anjou*, who was never King of *England*; ſo *Henry* VII. if he had any Title, derived it from *John* of *Gaunt* (by

A.D.1603 (by an illegitimate Succeſſion) who never was King of *England*.

From *England* we ſtep into *Scotland*, and ſee how the Hereditary Succeſſion was obſerved there after the Reign of *Alexander* III. in whom the direct Line of the Race of their Kings failed, which was about the Year 1278, and leave the Succeſſion of their 93 Kings before, to the Scrutiny of the *Scotiſh* Antiquaries and Heralds. The *Scots*, if they be not clearer in the Genealogy of their 93 Kings before *Alexander* III. than my Author is of retrieving it after the Death of *Margaret* his Daughter, make but blind Work of it; however we'll take it as we find it.

Hereditary Succeſſion of the Kings of Scotland *conſidered.*

David, Brother of *William* King of *Scotland*, and Earl of *Huntingdon*, had Iſſue by *Maud* Daughter to the Earl of *Cheſter*, three Daughters; *Margaret* married to *Allen* of *Galloway*; the ſecond (not named) was married to *Robert Bruce*; the third to *Henry Haſtings* Earl of *Huntingdon*. *Allen* of *Galloway* had a Grand-daughter, named *Dornagil*, married to *John Baliol*. *Bruce* was Great Grand-child to the ſecond Daughter of *David* Earl of *Huntingdon*; but being a Male, pretended he was to be King before *Dornagil* a Female, tho' a Degree nearer, and deſcended from the elder Siſter. *Henry* Earl of *Huntingdon* made no Claim. So the Right between *Baliol* and *Bruce* was referred to the Determination of *Edward* I. King of *England*, who adjudged the Right to be in *Baliol*; and ſoon after *Baliol* by *Dornagil* had a Son named *Edward*: ſo that *Bruce*'s Pretenſion of Title as being Son, vaniſhed by the Birth of *Edward Baliol*, being deſcended from the eldeſt Siſter. But the *Scots* not liking *Baliol*'s Reign, in the Year 1306. crowned *Robert Bruce* King; who in the Year 1310, by Act of Parliament, had the Crown of *Scotland* entailed upon him and his Heirs-male; and for want of Iſſue, on his Brother *Edward*.

This *Robert* had Iſſue a Son named *David*, and a Daughter married to *Robert Stuart*, and by Act of Parliament ſettled the Crown upon his Son *David*; and for want of Iſſue by him, to *Robert Stuart*, his Grand-child by his Daughter. So here is the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Scotland* twice differently ſettled by Par-

Parliament, to the diſinheriting of *Edward Baliol*. A. *Reg.* 1.
But in the Year 1332, *Edward Baliol* (the right Heir) was received and crowned King of *Scotland*. After that, *David Bruce* recovered the Kingdom, and afterwards was taken Priſoner by the Queen of *England*, in the Abſence of her Husband *Edward III.* in *France*, and being releaſed, dyed *Anno* 1370.

Robert Stuart (Grandſon of *Robert Bruce*, by his Daughter) ſucceeded *David*, who marry'd *Euphemia*, Daughter of the Earl of *Roſs*; but before he was King, had Iſſue by *Elizabeth Moor*, his Concubine, two Sons, *John* and *Robert*, and by the Queen he had Iſſue *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, and *David* Earl of *Strathern*; yet by Act of Parliament the King diſinherited his Legitimate Iſſue, and ſettled the Crown upon his Iſſue by *Elizabeth Moor*, from which all the Kings of *Scotland* have ſince deſcended.

This was the moſt unaccountable Accident, if we conſider the Cauſe and Conſequence (I think) that is recorded in any Hiſtory, That a King and Parliament, by the Importunity of a Slut, ſhould diſinherit his Legitimate Offspring from the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland*, to advance her ſpurious Iſſue.

'Tis true, for ſome Reaſons of State, the right Heir is ſet aſide, as *Edward* Son of *Ethelred* (after the *Confeſſor*) being young, and not a fit Match to oppoſe the *Danes*, *Edmund Ironſide*, tho' illegitimate, for his Strength and Courage, was ſaid to be choſen King, as moſt likely to withſtand the *Daniſh* Invaſions: ſo *Edward the Confeſſor* obſerving the heavy and ſlow Nature of *Edgar* (the Grandſon of *Edmund Ironſide*) not to be a fit Match to oppoſe the turbulent aſpiring Faction of *Harold* and his Family, named *William* Duke of *Normandy* his Succeſſor: but none of theſe were Reaſons for the depoſing the Earls of *Athol* and *Strathern*, being, for ought I find, much better qualified to reign than either *John* or *Robert*, the Iſſue of *Elizabeth Moor*; for *John* was of an heavy and unactive Diſpoſition, not fit to govern, which made the King his Father to conſtitute his younger Brother *Robert* Vice-Roy, a Man of a violent and inveterate Diſpoſition. So that theſe Three Dynaſties, *viz.* the *Norman*, *Britiſh*, and *Scotiſh*, were all derived from ſpu-

rious

A.D. 1603. rious Originals; and as *Henry VII.* was deſcended from *John* of *Gaunt* (who was never King) by *Katherine Swinford*, ſo is the Race of *Scotland* from *Robert Stuart*, the firſt of that Name (before he was King) by *Elizabeth Moor*.

But though the Parliament erected this Dynaſty of the Kings of *Scotland*, yet this did not ceaſe their Power of altering the Succeſſion of it in a right Line; for *James II.* had two Sons, *James III.* who ſucceeded him, and *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*. *Alexander* married two Wives; the firſt was a Daughter of the Earl of *Orkney*, by whom he had a Son named *Alexander*; and after married a Daughter of the Earl of *Bulloign*, by whom he had a Son named *John*; yet in *James* the Fifth's Reign, *John* was by Parliament declared the ſecond Perſon of the Kingdom, and next Heir to *James V.* notwithſtanding the Claim and Proteſtation made by *Alexander*, *John*'s elder Brother, againſt it. And the *Scots* out of Parliament aſſumed a Power not only of altering the Succeſſion of their Kings, but of depoſing them: for in the Year 1567, they depoſed Queen *Mary*, and ſet up *James VI.* an Infant, ſcarce 14 Months old, in her ſtead; and by this Title he reigned in *Scotland* Twenty Years in his Mother's Life, and to his dying Day owned this Title.

Yet this King, and his Son, and two Grandſons after him, gloried in declaring their Titles to be by inherent Birth-right, and that they were accountable only to God for all their Actions: Here the Scene was laid, upon which they played their deſigned Game, which did not end ſo.

I do not account the Dynaſty of the Kings of *England* in the *Scottiſh* Race ſince Queen *Elizabeth*, to be new in the Succeſſion of the Perſons of the four laſt Kings of that Line; yet, I ſay, it was new in the Exerciſe of it, and ſuch as none of the *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, or *Norman* Race ſince *Henry III.* or of the *Britiſh* Race, ever pretended to claim: But in regard it has put the Nation into ſuch a Ferment for above 80 Years, and which, if God pleaſes not to put an end to, may prove as fatal to theſe Nations, as the Feuds between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* did for above 300 Years overwhelm *Germany* and *Italy*, we are more particular in taking a View of the Original of it. From

From the Time of the King's coming to *London*, *May* the 7th, to the 11th of *January*, little more than eight Months, *Stow* takes notice of twelve Proclamations, and upon the 11th of *January* out comes another for calling a Parliament, which tho' new for the Manner, yet more new for the Subſtance, and ſuch as never before was heard of in *England*: And that we may the better take a View of the Succeſs of the Parliaments of *England* in this King's Reign, we will conſider the Conſtitution of a Parliament, and the principal Ends of its meeting. *A. Reg.* 1.

The King is the Head, Principle and End of the Parliament; the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, are the Body; the Temporal Nobility ſit in Parliament in their perſonal Capacities, but the Spiritual Nobility do not ſo, but in right of their Biſhopricks, which they hold of the King by Barony; and the Commons are ſaid to be the Repreſentative-Body of all the Commons in *England*; not Noble by Birth, or in their Politick Capacities, as the Biſhops are: And in this Aſſembly reſides the Supreme Authority of the Nation, which as they make Laws for the publick Benefit, ſo are they looſe from them, and are not obliged to them.

As the King is freed from the Imputation of Tyranny in ſanguinary Laws, and of Oppreſſion in taxing the Subjects (for how can the Subjects complain of either, when their Repreſentatives in Parliament promote them?) So does a Parliament diſcharge the great Objection againſt Hereditary Monarchies, that tho Princes ſee only with their own Eyes, and hear with their own Ears, as other Men do; yet ſo as it is impoſſible, without a true Repreſentation of the State of their Subjects, they can ſee or hear of the true State of them; whereas Minions and Flatterers, whoſe Intereſt is different from that of the Kingdom, not only conceal the true State of the Nation, but make falſe Repreſentations of it, to raiſe themſelves, tho' out of the publick Ruin: But the Parliament is the Eye of the Nation, which ſees the Abuſes which Flatterers, by abuſing the King's Name, and making it ſubſervient to their Intereſt, impoſe upon it. The great Ends of the Meetings of

A.D 1603 Parliament, are, First, To redreſs the Grievances of the Nation, if any be, by repreſenting them to the King. Secondly, To puniſh Men which are out of the Reach of the ordinary Rules of Juſtice, which either abuſe the King's Name to attain their Ends, or may prove dangerous to the Government. Thirdly, To make Laws againſt growing Evils, and to repeal Laws which have been found inconvenient to the Nation. And, Fourthly, To ſupply the King upon extraordinary Occaſions for Support of the Nation, as Times and Accidents may happen.

Parliaments formerly met frequently. Heretofore the Meetings of Parliaments were ſo frequent, that from the Firſt of *Edward III.* to the Fourteenth of *Henry IV.* which was but 85 Years, there are 72 Original Writs for the Summons of Parliament; ſo that if you allow Forty Days from the Teſts, to the Returns, and but one Month for the Sittings of Parliament, there will not be a Year's Interval between the Diſſolution of one Parliament, and the Summoning another; and Mr. *Johnſon* proves that they were Annual, and fix'd to meet on the 1ſt, or the Kalends of *May*, which continued down to *Edward I.* and there are Two Laws yet in Force for the Annual Meeting of the King in Parliament, one the 4th of *Edward III. c.* 14. the other 36 *Edw. III. c.* 10. and when Parliaments thus frequently met, Grievances were nipt in the Bud; the Courts of Law kept to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice uprightly, the Ambition of great Men reſtrained; Factions and Innovations ſuppreſſed: and when the Parliament met thus frequently, the King had an Account of the State of the Nation; and upon Redreſs of Grievances, if any were, the Parliament, in Acknowledgment of their Duty, gave the King a Gratuity, ſometimes a Fifteenth, other times a Subſidy, and at other times a Subſidy and a Fifteenth, and ſometimes a Subſidy and two Fifteenths; but never more before the 35 of *Eliz.* and the King in return, granted a general Pardon to his Subjects, with ſuch Exceptions as the Parliament pleaſed: and thus a mutual Love and Underſtanding between the King and his Subjects was nouriſhed and encreaſed.

Whereas,

Whereas, by the long Diſcontinuance of Parliaments; Grievances multiply and take Root, ſo as they become ſo much the more difficult to be redreſſed, By how much longer the Diſcontinuances laſt: The Favourites, by their flattering the Prince, not only keep him in Ignorance of the State of his Subjects, but fix the Prince ſo to their Will, that it becomes ſo habitual in him, that he prefers them before his Subjects, and their Flatteries before the Advice of his Parliament, and often takes their Parts, before that of the Parliament and Nation. *A. Reg. 1. Long Intervalls dangerous.*

Theſe long Intervals of Parliaments will beget long Parliaments, and the Members get to be choſen by the Favour of great Men and vaſt Expence; ſo that the Grievances which the Parliament ſhould redreſs, become diſtilled into the Body of the Parliament; than which nothing can be more dangerous to the Conſtitution of Parliament. Beſides, that the publick Buſineſs may not be interrupted during the Seſſions of Parliament, the Members of both Houſes have Privileges, whereof they are the only Judges, both in their own Perſons, and of their Servants, whereby they are exempted from Arreſts, which is not only grievous to the Subjects, but oft the Ruin of them.

Before King *James*'s coming to the Crown of *England*, the Election of Members in the Houſe of Commons was ſo free, that the Letters of the King, or any Nobleman, to chuſe a Member, was judged Cauſe ſufficient to render the Election void; but the King by this Proclamation gives order, what ſorts of Men, and how qualified, ſhould be choſen by the Commons, and concludes: *We notify by theſe Preſents, That all Returns and Certificates of Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, ought and are to be brought to the Court of Chancery, and there to be filed upon Record; and if any be found to be made contrary to this Proclamation, the ſame is to be rejected as unlawful and inſufficient; and the City or Borough to be fined for the ſame; and if it be found that they have committed any groſs or wilful Default or Contempt in the Election, Return, or Certificate, that then their Liberties, according to the Law, are to be ſeized as forfeited: And if any Perſon take upon him the Place of a Knight, Citizen,*

A.D. 1603 *or Burgeſs, not being duly elected and ſworn, according to the Laws and Statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the Purport, Effect, and true Meaning of this our Proclamation, then every Perſon ſo offending, to be fined and impriſoned for the ſame.*

K. James's first Parliament. Never was ſuch a Prelude to the Meeting of a Parliament, by any of the Kings of *England* of any Race: and if the King in the Beginning thus extends his firſt Note above ELA, to what Pitch will he ſtrain his Prerogative hereafter? However, ſince Forfeitures of Charters, Fining and Impriſoning of Members not elected and returned according to this Proclamation, were the Penalties impoſed by it for the better Execution, it might have been declared, who ſhould judge of theſe Elections and Returns, or by what Law.

It fell out unluckily, I think I may ſay deſignedly, that upon the opening of the Parliament, ſeveral of the Houſe of Commons, one of which was Sir *Herbert Crofts*, coming to hear the King's Speech in the Houſe of Lords, had the Door ſhut upon them, and were repulſed by a Yeoman of the Guard, with the uncivil and contemptible Terms of, *Goodman Burgeſs, you come not here.*

The King in a long and tedious Speech, after he had expreſſed his Thanks to the whole Nation for their univerſal Acclamations, in receiving him for their undoubted Sovereign, which ſo much conduced to their Happineſs in the Union of all Claims in his Perſon; tells them, the Wonders he will do, both in reference to the inward and outward Peace of the Kingdom; which how well he performed, you will hear hereafter: But as to the Glory which he aſcribes to himſelf of being King by inherent Birthright from *Henry VII.* and his Queen, I think he could not have taken a worſe Topick for what he ſo much glories in.

For no Hereditary Monarch has a better Title to his Crown, than the Anceſtor from whom he firſt Claims, had; and it is evident, *Henry VII.* had no Colour of Title to the Crown of *England* by Inheritance, being only deſcended from *John* of *Gaunt* by *Katherine Swinford* his Concubine nor could the King claim

claim any Title from the Wife of *Henry VII.* for *Henry* himſelf would never own ſhe had any, reigning not only during her Life, without naming her in the Coins, Proclamations, or Laws, but after her Death; and was not only crowned without her, but called a Parliament without her, e'er he was married to her, and had the Crown entailed upon him, and the Heirs of his Body before he married her. Beſides, there is no Averment againſt an Act of Parliament, and the Act of the Firſt of *Richard III.* declares all the Iſſue of *Edward IV.* by the Lady *Grey* (the Mother of *Henry VII.*'s Wife) to be illegitimate, and ſo uncapable of any Inheritance to the Crown of *England.* *A. Reg.* 1.

The King, who ſince his coming in, had been acquainted only with Flatteries, introduced with the Epithet of *Moſt Sacred* (which I find rarely applied to any of his Predeceſſors, and how properly applied to him, giving himſelf up to a diſſolute and prophane Life, let another judge) was buoyed up with a mighty Expectation of the Succeſs of his Proclamation and Speech, which did not ſucceed accordingly. The Parliament met on *Monday, March* the 19th, and a Debate happening in the Houſe of Commons about the Return of the Election of Sir *Francis Goodwin* and Sir *John Forteſcue*, for Knight of the Shire for the County of *Bucks*, the Commons, the 23d, upon a full hearing, determined Sir *Francis* to be lawfully elected and returned.

An. Reg. 2. *An. Dom.* 1604. *Tueſday, March* 26. the Lords by Sir *Edward Coke* and Doctor *Hone*, ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, that the former Committees may (in a ſecond Conference to be had) have Authority to treat touching the Caſe of Sir *Francis Goodwin*, the Knight of *Bucks*, firſt of all before any other Matters were proceeded in. *A. Reg.* 2.

The Commons returned Anſwer, That they did conceive, that it did not ſtand with the Honour of their Houſe, to give an Account of their Proceedings and Doings: but if their Lordſhips had any purpoſe to confer for the reſidue, that then they would be ready at ſuch Time and Place, and ſuch Number as their Lordſhips ſhould think meet.

A.D. 1604 Sir *Edward Coke*, &c. delivered from the Lords, That their Lordſhips taking notice in particular of the Return of the Sheriff of *Bucks*, and acquainting his Majeſty with it, his Highneſs conceived himſelf engaged and touched in Honour, that there might be ſome Conference of it between the two Houſes, and to that end ſignified his Pleaſure unto them, and by them to that Houſe.

King interferes with the Election.

The Commons by their Speaker give their Reaſons to the King, why they cannot confer with the Lords: The King in return charges the Commons to admit a Conference with the Judges: the Commons give Reaſons, and anſwer Objections, why they cannot, and the 3d of *April* deliver them at the Council-Chamber by Sir *Francis Bacon*, deſiring, That their Lordſhips would be Mediators in behalf of the Houſe for his Majeſty's Satisfaction: The King in return, commanded as an *Abſolute King*, that there might be a Conference between the Houſe and Judges.

The Houſe upon return hereof, reſolved to confer in Preſence of the King and Council, and named a ſelect Committee for the Conference; but the Succeſs being doubtful, Sir *Francis Goodwin* fearing this might cauſe a Rupture between the King and the Houſe, and to remove all Impediments to the worthy and weighty Cauſes, which might by this time have been in a good furtherance, deſired another Writ of Election for a Member in his ſtead. Hereupon, and other Accidents ſucceeding, the Commons, upon the 16th of *June*, in an humble Apology to his Majeſty, repreſent their Privileges, and wherein they conceive themſelves aggrieved.

The Stubbornneſs of the Commons (for ſo the King would have it), ſo diſſonant from the Flatteries he had conſtantly ſounding in his Ears, and of being an Abſolute King by *Inherent Birthright*, put the King ſo out of Conceit with Parliaments, that in all his Life, till the laſt Parliament of his Reign, when Neceſſity brought him to it, he was never reconciled to them. But that we may more clearly ſee what followed, we will look back into the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. There were three Things which the Queen was impatient of being debated in Parliament, the Succeſſion

of

of the Crown after her Death, her Marriage, and the making any Alteration in the Church, as it was eſtabliſhed in the Firſt Year of her Reign. *A. Reg.* 2.

But the Commons having a fearful Eye of a Relapſe into Popery, after the Nation had been freed from it, and the Queen of *Scots* being zealouſly addicted to the *Romiſh* Religion, and having not only aſſumed the Arms of *England*, as next Heir to Queen *Elizabeth*, but upon her Return from *France* into *Scotland*, by many Embaſſies ſolicited Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe might be declared her Succeſſor, in caſe ſhe died without Heirs of her Body: To prevent this, they in manifold Addreſſes to the Queen, petitioned her to marry, and declare her Succeſſor; and after the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Conſpiracy, and the Rebellion in the North under the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, in all the Parliaments from the 9th of *Elizabeth*, to the Queen of *Scotland*'s Death, the Commons were importunate with the Queen to cut her off.

The Queen fixed in theſe Reſolutions, often forbid the Parliament, upon their Allegiance, to enter into Debates upon them; yet ſome zealous Members, the principal of which was one Mr. *Peter Wentworth*, did ſeveral times endeavour to have them debated; upon which the Queen committed them to the *Tower*, tho' ſoon after they were diſcharged: This the Commons, in their Apology to the King, take notice of, and pray, that this be no Precedent for the future, but that their Debates in Parliament may be free: but they ſhall find, that this King's little Finger, and his Son's after him, ſhall be heavier upon them than Queen *Elizabeth*'s Loins. But however this Apology tended to a Rupture between the King and them within, yet he was reſolved to have Peace without the Kingdom, how inconſiſtible ſoever the Terms were; and to that end, upon the 18th of *Auguſt* following, he concluded a firm Peace with *Philip III.* of *Spain*, and *Albert* and *Iſabel* Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*, *&c.* and alſo a Treaty of Commerce, which as it was the moſt beneficial to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo it was difficult, if not impoſſible, to obſerve the Peace; the King, as he had managed

An. 604 it, made the Treaty of Commerce to be but little beneficial to the Nation.

For the Year before, the King had renewed the Treaty of Alliance which Queen *Elizabeth* had made with the *Dutch* States, where, tho' the King was not obliged to maintain ſuch a Number of Men for their Support againſt the *Spaniards*, to be repaid at the end of the War, where by the Treaty with the Queen, *Anno* 1598. the *Dutch* were not only to pay, but to repay the Queen Yearly 100000 *l.* till a Peace was made with *Spain*, when they were to pay her Two Millions of Money, with the Intereſt of 10 *per Cent.* deducting the 100000 *l. per Annum* they were to pay; yet by the Fourth Article of the ſaid Treaty it was agreed, *That neither the Kings of* England *nor* Spain, *ſhall themſelves give, or ſhall conſent to be given by any of their Vaſſals, Subjects, or Inhabitants, Aid, Favour, or Counſel directly or indirectly, on Sea, Land, or freſh Waters; nor ſhall ſupply or miniſter, or conſent to be ſupplied or miniſtred, by their ſaid Vaſſals, Inhabitants, or Subjects, unto the Enemies or Rebels of either Part, of what Nature or Condition ſoever they be (whether they ſhall invade the Countries and Dominions of either of them, or withdraw themſelves from their Obedience and Subjection) any Soldiers, Proviſion of Victuals, Monies, Inſtruments of War, and whatſoever Aid elſe to maintain War: and the Five Articles renounce all former Leagues, Confederacies, Capitulations, and Intelligences to the contrary.*

But tho' theſe two Articles pointed as directly as the Wit of Man could deviſe, and to which King *James* ſware, to withdraw the *Engliſh* and *Scots* out of the *Dutch* Service againſt the *Spaniard*, yet had the King no more Courage to do it, than he had to demand the 600000 *l.* now due from the *Dutch* to him, by their Treaty with Queen *Elizabeth* in 1598. And to palliate this, he made it worſe, by granting the King of *Spain* Licenſe to raiſe what Forces he could in any of his Dominions to fight againſt the *Dutch*; ſo prodigal was the King of the Expence of his Subjects Blood Abroad, to keep an unſettled Peace at Home, wherein he might follow his Pleaſure and Luxury, and aſpire to a Dominion over his Subjects, which none of his Predeceſſors ever claimed.

King

King *James* in the 7th Article excuſes the Delivery of *Fluſhing*, *Brill*, *Rammekins*, and other Forts in the *Engliſh* Poſſeſſion in the *Netherlands*, to the King of *Spain*, becauſe of the Contracts made between Queen *Elizabeth* and the States, by which ſhe being engag'd in Faith and Honour, it was not free for him to reſtore the ſame to the Arch-dukes; yet, on the Word of a King, he promiſes to enter into a Treaty with the ſaid States, wherein he will aſſign a competent Time to them, to accept and receive Terms agreeable to Juſtice and Equity, for a Pacification with the Arch-dukes (to whom the King of *Spain* had aſſigned the Dominions of the *Low-Countries*) which if the States ſhall refuſe, his Majeſty from henceforth, as being freed from the former Conventions, will determine of the ſaid Towns, according as it ſhall be juſt and honourable, wherein the ſaid Princes ſhall find, there ſhall be no want in him of thoſe good Offices, which can be expected from a friendly Prince. *A. Reg.* 2.

As the King of *Spain* and Arch-dukes got but little by this Treaty of Peace, ſo did the *Engliſh* Nation, as the King had order'd it, get as little by the Treaty of Commerce. The Generality of Mankind have nothing to feed, cloath, provide an Habitation, or defend themſelves with, but as they are aſſiſted by other Men; and as they are born to nothing but what they get from others, ſo if any rob or ſteal from another any thing, this will be an Injury to that other. Nor does Man, born in this poor State, know how to get, or be ſupplied by another with either Food, Raiment, or an Habitation, but as he ſhall be taught or inſtructed by another; ſo that after all, the Generality of Mankind, in their moſt perfect State, eat their Bread by the Sweat of their Brows, and in the Cares of their Mind. To debar therefore any Man from his honeſt Labours, whereby he gets his Subſiſtance, is a greater Violation of the Law of Nature, than to rob another, and equal to the depriving another by Injuſtice of an Eſtate whereon a Man lives; and is a greater Injury than the Tyranny of *Pharaoh* over the Children of *Iſrael*, in compelling them to make Brick, yet denying them Straw; for

this

A.D.1604. this impoſed upon the *Iſraelites* a greater Hardſhip how to live, whereas that denies to poor Men the Means of living; and by Conſequence, it is a greater Tyranny and Injuſtice for any Man, or Company of Men, either by Law, or without Law, to arrogate to themſelves a Monopoly in any lawful Employment excluſive to other Men, than to rob any of them; for this but hinders them in their Livelihood, whereas that takes from them all their Means of living.

Nor are Monopolies leſs impolitick than injurious, for the reſtraining the Labours and Induſtry of Men in any Profeſſion, Art, or Myſtery, in any Country, to a few, does not only hinder the Improvement of them in that Country, but makes open a Way to the People of other Countries, not only to enlarge, but improve them, as much to their Benefit, as to the Loſs of that Country where they are reſtrained to a few.

And if Monopolies be ſo wicked, impolitick, and injurious, in reſtraining the Labours and Induſtry of Men, the monopolizing the Product of Mens Labour by Navigation in foreign Trade, is not leſs, but more; for no Man will labour, who cannot enjoy the Fruits of his Labour; and the great Benefit herein which *England* enjoys, is, that being the greater and better Part of the Iſle of *Britain*, it abounds with more noble and better Ports (except *Ireland*) to vend the Product of Mens Labours upon the Materials which it abounds with, than any other Country. To monopolize therefore the Foreign Vend of our Manufactures to any Men, or Company of Men, is doubly injurious, not only to our Artificers in them, but to thoſe Countries which might otherwiſe reap the Benefit of them, and by this Reſtriction gives other Countries the Opportunity of ſupplying them.

Nor does the Injury and Impolicy of reſtraining the Foreign Vend of our Manufactures, ſtay here; for by it infinite People might be ſupplied with manifold Things from other Countries, as Pitch, Tar, Hemp, Flax, Bees-wax, Elephants-Teeth, Raw Silks, all ſorts of dying Stuffs, *&c.* whereof the Nation ſtands in need; which being reſtrained to a few, the Nation cannot be ſupplied by them, and ſo Multitudes

titudes of Manufacturers are denied the Fruits of their Labours; and hereby they become ſo dear, that thoſe who imploy themſelves in them, cannot, without extraordinary Pains, ſubſiſt, and thereby give the Foreign Vend of them to other Nations, where theſe are more plentiful and cheap. *A. Reg.* 2.

Nor does the Injury and Impolicy of monopolizing of Foreign Trades end here; for as the Riches of *England* are derived from our Foreign Trades, ſo is the Strength and Glory of it founded in Navigation, which (Trade being a Principle to it) will be ſo much leſſened, as the Foreign Vend of our Manufactures and their Returns are reſtrained. We have thought fit to premiſe this, that a better View may be had of what follows.

The firſt Day the King came to *London* after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, *viz.* the 7th of *May*, he iſſued out a Proclamation to ceaſe the exacting all Monopolies and Protections that hindred Mens Suits in Law, and to forbid the Oppreſſions done by Salt-Peter Makers, Purveyors, and Cart-takers; but this was too hot to hold.

For it was no ſooner made, but the King made a Monopoly of the Trade to *Spain* and *Italy*, by incorporating it in a Company excluſive to other Men. Hereupon the Parliament then ſitting, made that memorable Law founded upon thoſe unanſwerable Reaſons of a *National Intereſt*, and the manifold Inconveniences the incorporating thoſe Trades in a Company, brought to the Navigation of the Nation, both in the Foreign Vend of our Manufactures, and in their Returns, to the Ruin of infinite Artificers, Seamen, and Shipwrights, and to the Diminution of the King's Revenue: Whereupon theſe Trades were declared free, and have ever ſince continued ſo, to the ineſtimable Benefit of this Nation.

But though the Reaſons in this Act extend to all other beneficial Trades, as to *Turkey*, the *Eaſt Country*, and *Hamburgh* Trades, and to *Africa* and the *Eaſt Indies*, yet all theſe Trades are monopolized into Companies excluſive to other Men, as much to the Prejudice of the Nation, as the making the *Spaniſh* Trade free, was beneficial to it.

About

A.D. 1604 About this Time the Clergy (at leaſt a Faction which ſtiled themſelves the Clergy) made an Attempt to try how far their Doctrine of *Abſolute Power* had taken root in the King: They had gained their Point ſo far, as he had declared his Command to the Commons as *Abſolute King*, and now they'll ſee whether he would aſſert it; and the Caſe was this:

Archbiſhop *Whitgift* (a Prelate of ſingular Piety and Humility) died the laſt Day of *February*, in the Firſt Year of the King, and Dr. *Richard Bancroft* (a Man of a rough Temper, a ſtout Foot-ball-player) a zealous Aſſertor of the Rights of the Church of *England*, or rather a Faction of Church-men, who arrogated to themſelves the Title, exhibited to the King and Council 25 Articles in the Name of all the Clergy of *England*, called *Articuli Cleri*, which were deſired to be reformed in granting Prohibitions, tho' there were a Parliament and Convocation then ſitting, which I do not find had any hand in it.

King's Abſolute Power ſtarted. This Exhibition, as it aſcribed an *Abſolute Power* to the King, ſo it ſtruck directly at the Conſtitution of Parliaments, the principal End of which is to redreſs Grievances and Abuſes in the Nation; and if the King's Council, during the Sitting of a Parliament, ſhall aſcribe to themſelves this Power, then the great End of Parliaments redreſſing Grievances and Abuſes is in vain: however, *Bancroft* herein not only makes the King's Council to have a concurring Power with the Parliament, but paramount to it, by exhibiting theſe Articles in the Sitting of a Parliament and Convocation: But the Judges gave ſo clear and diſtinct an Anſwer to them all, that the King did not think fit to meddle in them; yet did not *Bancroft* reſt here, as you will hear hereafter.

Whilſt *Bancroft* was thus aſcribing to the King this *Abſolute Power*, and exalting a Faction of Church-men above the true State of the Clergy, which is one of the Three States of the Nation, and above the Nobility and Commonalty, which are the other Two; the Popiſh Faction were plotting a Deſign, not only to deſtroy the Church of *England*, but the very Perſon of the King, with the Nobility and Commons convened in Parliament, which was to have been exe-

executed upon the Fifth of *November* following, the Day on which the Parliament were to meet. *A. Reg.* 2.

The Popiſh Party hoped, that the King, in regard to his Mother's Religion, was not averſe to theirs, ſo that if he became not of their Church (which in his Speech at the Opening the Parliament, he owns our *Mother-Church*) at leaſt hoped to have their Religion tolerated; whereas finding the King in his Speech, after he had declaimed againſt the Hereſies and Abuſes crept into their Church, and the Pope's having arrogated an Imperial Civil Power over Kings and Emperors, by dethroning and decrowning them with his Foot, and diſpoſing of their Kingdoms; and the Jeſuits Practice of aſſaſſinating and murdering Kings, if they be curſed by the Pope: That ſo long as [illegible] maintained theſe, they were not ſufferable in the Kingdom. From this Time forward at leaſt, a Popiſh Crew contrived how to bring in their Religion; and at laſt agreed upon the Opening the Seſſion of Parliament, upon the 5th of *November*, one part of the Conſpirators ſhould blow up the Lords Houſe, while the King, Prince, with the Nobility and Commons were in it, whilſt another part ſhould ſeize upon the Lady *Elizabeth* (after Queen of *Bohemia*) and proclaim her Queen: But the Plot being diſcovered, the Conſpirators were defeated of both their Deſigns. *Gun Powder Treaſon.*

The Horror and Terror of this Conſpiracy (the Diſcovery whereof was induſtriouſly divulged and believed to be by the King's great Wiſdom and Care) reconciled for a Time all Differences between him and his Parliament; and the Parliament, to gratify the King, the Clergy gave him Four Subſidies at Four Shillings in the Pound, and the Temporality Three Subſidies and Six Fifteenths, (which was threefold more than any Parliament, in one Seſſion, gave Queen *Elizabeth*, before that of the 35 *Eliz.*, notwithſtanding the Payment of her Father's, Brother's and Siſter's Debts, her expelling the *French* out of *Scotland*, the building and repairing the Navy-Royal, the Support of the *Reformed* in *France*, the ſubduing the Rebellion in the *North*, the Support of the *Dutch* in the *Netherlands*, the *Iriſh* War, and the Overthrow

of

A.D. 1604 of the *Spaniſh Armada* in 88.) The Parliament enacted the Oath of Allegiance, which *Bellarmine*, under the Name of *Tortus*, wrote againſt, and *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Winton*, under the Name of *Tortura Torti*, defended it. The Parliament too ordained the Anniverſary of the Fifth of *November*, to be celebrated for a perpetual Thankſgiving-Day for the King and Kingdom's Delivery from this Conſpiracy. All Heats about *Prerogative* and *Privilege* were now laid aſide; the Pulpits and our Univerſities rang with Declamations againſt the Hereſies and Uſurpations of the Church of *Rome*; and now the King gave himſelf wholly to Hunting, Plays, Maſques, Balls, and writing againſt *Bellarmine* and the Pope's Supremacy, in arrogating a Power over Kings, and diſpoſing of their Kingdoms; and thus the Caſe ſtood for four Years after, wherein I ſcarce find any thing worth mentioning.

This and the next Year was almoſt wholly ſpent in Debates, concerning the Uniting of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, which the King earneſtly ſolicited, and which ended only in Conteſts and Arguments, for the Houſes of Parliament refuſed to join with the King in it: however, the King obtained a Judgment in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in a Caſe called *Calvin's Caſe*, that the *Poſt Nati* in *Scotland*, after the King's Aſſumption to the Crown of *England*, were free to purchaſe and inherit therein.

King prodigal to Favourites.

But whilſt the King was wallowing in Pleaſure, he wholly gave himſelf up to be governed by Favourites, to whom he was above any other King of *England* (except *Henry VIII.*) exceſſively prodigal, not only in Honours and Offices, but of the Revenues of the Crown, and Aids given in Parliament; and theſe being of both Nations, *Scots* as well as *Engliſh*, made them to be the more intolerable: All things being at Peace Abroad, publick Affairs were neglected, or ſcarce thought of, whilſt the *Dutch* ſtill grew more powerful at Sea, and without any Aid from the King, were Matches for the King of *Spain* by Land; and *Henry IV.* of *France* was accumulating incredible Treaſure at Home, and laying the Foundation of vaſt Deſigns Abroad, whereof the King took no notice, his Genius lying another way:

In

In these Debates at Home, and Lethargy of State of Foreign Affairs, the Prerogative-Clergy swelled the High-Commission to such an Height, that it was complained of as a Grievance in Parliament. Nay, *Bancroft* this Year (notwithstanding the Judge's Answer to the Articles exhibited to the King, against granting Prohibitions; and that the Parliament was still sitting) repeated his Exhibitions: But however the King inclined to favour *Bancroft*, he had not Courage enough to over-rule the Judges Answer to them, it may be, for fear the Parliament should interpose, or indispose them to grant him more Money, whereof already he stood in great need. *A. Reg.* 7.

But the Parliament, however they gratify'd the King for their Deliverance from the Popish Conspiracy, did not think fit to pour it forth so plentifully now in Times of Peace, to be profusely thrown upon Favourites and Minions, who were no more Friends to them, than they were to the established Church of *England*.

To supply the King's Necessities, one Dr. *Cowell* the next Year after publish'd his *Interpreter*, wherein he premised these Three Principles: First, That the King was *Solutus à Legibus*, not bound by his Coronation-Oath. Secondly, That it was not *ex Necessitate*, that the King should call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do it by his *Absolute Power*. Thirdly, It was a Favour to admit the Consent of the Subjects in giving Subsidies. *Cowell's Interpreter*, approved by the King, was not only printed, but publickly sold, with Impunity; and this gave Encouragement to the publishing many others to the same purpose; among which one *Blackwood* published one, which concluded that we were all Slaves, by reason of the Conquest.

The Commons, tho' they took no notice of *Bancroft*, and his Articles against Prohibitions, took fire at these, and intended to have proceeded severely against him; but the King interposed, and promised to call in these Books by Proclamation, as he did, but they were out, and the Proclamation could not call them in, but only served to make them more taken notice of: But this had not the desired Effect

of

A.D. 1608 of getting more Money, than one Subſidy and one Tenth; whereupon the King by Proclamation diſſolved them the 31ſt of *December*, 1609, after they had ſat near Seven Years, wherein the King ſet forth, *That he had propoſed many Things far differing and ſurpaſſing the Graces and Favours of former Times, both in Nature and Value, in expectation of a good Concluſion of ſome weighty Cauſe, which had been there in Deliberation, not only for the Supply of the Neceſſities of his Majeſty's Eſtate, but for the Eaſe and Freedom of his Subjects: but theſe being the Two laſt Seſſions little taken notice of; and that the Members, by reaſon of the Length of the Parliament, were debarred from the Hoſpitality they kept in the Country, and that divers Shires, Cities, and Boroughs had been burdened with Expence of maintaining their Members; for theſe Reaſons he diſſolved them.*

CHAP. II.

A Continuation of this Reign, to the Diſſolution of the Second Parliament, 1614.

BUT how precarious ſoever the King was to get Money of the Parliament, he had not Courage enough to demand the 100000 *l. per Annum* by the Treaty between Queen *Elizabeth* and the *Dutch* States in 1598, whereby Eleven hundred thouſand Pounds was due to him, much leſs to demand the principal Debt, *viz.* Two Millions, and alſo Two Millions and Two hundred thouſand Pounds due for Eleven Years Intereſt, at 10 *l. per Cent.* Now by the Mediation of ſeveral Princes, but eſpecially by King *James*, this Year a Truce for Twelve Years was concluded between the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes *Albert* and *Iſabel*, and the *Dutch*; wherein the *Dutch* were declared *Free States*, and independent upon the Crown of *Spain*, or Arch-dukes. But tho' the King had not Courage enough to demand the Monies from the *Dutch*, by the Treaty with Queen *Elizabeth*, he had

ſo

ſo much as to enter into a Treaty with the *Dutch*, for a Tribute to be paid to him for Licenſe to fiſh upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*: but the *Dutch* obſerved this no better than that with the Queen, and the King got leſs by it. *A. Reg.* 8.

Long Parliaments beget long Intervals, in which Grievances become ſo multiplied and fixed, that they become ſo much more difficult to be redreſſed, by how much longer the Intervals are: And ſince the King could not get Money of the Parliament, and was afraid to demand any of the *Dutch*, let's ſee what Courſes he took to get Money, during the Interval from this Parliament to the Meeting of the next, which was five Years, and how the Caſe ſtood with them.

In the opening of the firſt Parliament, the King tells them, that he was ſo far from encreaſing their Burden with *Rehoboam*, as that he had ſo much, as either Time, Occaſion, or Law could permit, lightned them; and, at that time, had been careful to reviſe and conſider deeply upon the Laws made againſt them, that ſome Overture may be propoſed in Parliament for clearing thoſe Laws, by Reaſon (which is the Soul of the Law) in caſe they have been in times paſt, further or more rigorouſly executed by Judges than the meaning of the Law was, or might tend to the Hurt as well of the Innocent as guilty Perſons.

At the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the King's principal Favourites were *Henry Howard*, (Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* beheaded) tho' a Papiſt, yet Lord Privy Seal; *Robert Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Lord Treaſurer; *Philip* Earl of *Mountgomery*, *Thomas* Lord *Walden*, (Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*) after created Earl of *Suffolk*; and Sir *Henry Rich*, after Earl of *Holland*, *Engliſh*: the Earl of *Dunbar*, Sir *Alexander Hay*, and Sir *Robert Carr* (who in a ſhort time ſhall over-top them all) *Scotiſh*. *The King's Favourites.*

There was a Story current in thoſe Times, which I have heard from ſome credible Perſons then living, That King *James* having given Sir *Robert Carr* a Boon of 20000 *l.* my Lord Treaſurer *Salisbury*, that he might

A.D. 1610 might make the King ſenſible of what he had done, invited the King to an Entertainment, and ſo ordered it, that before the King ſhould come at it, he ſhould paſs through a Room wherein he had placed four Tables, and upon each Table lay 5000 *l.* in Silver; when the King came into the Paſſage, he ſtarted, and was amazed at the ſight (having never before ſeen ſuch a Sum) he asked the Treaſurer the meaning of it, who told the King, *It was the Boon he had given Sir* Robert Carr: *Swounds Man!* (the Oath he uſually ſwore) *but five thouſand ſhould ſerve his turn*, and ſo for that time the Treaſurer ſaved the King the other fifteen.

To ſupport theſe Favourites, and other of the King's Country-men of leſs Note, was all the King's Care; but ſince Money cannot be had by Parliament, other Means muſt be found out. There were many ways uſed for it during this Interval: Firſt, Monopolies, which ſwarmed more than in any King's Reign before. Secondly, Payments for new invented Knighthoods, never before heard of in *England* in Times of Peace, called *Baronets:* the Price was 1000 *l.* and the King, to quicken the Market, promiſed to make but 200; tho' when this Market was done, he kept it up all his Life-time after. Thirdly, Tho' the *Baronets* paid for their Honours, yet the King iſſued out Commiſſions for reviving the old *Obſolete Laws*, for making Men which could expend 40 *l. per Annum*, to compound for not being Knighted. Fourthly, Payments for being made Knights of *Nova Scotia*. Fifthly, The purchaſing of *Engliſh* Honours at certain ſet Prices, a Baron at 10000 *l.* a Viſcount at 15000 *l.* an Earl at 20000 *l.* Sixthly, Payments for *Scotiſh* and *Iriſh* Honours, I do not find ſet Prices of theſe; *Scotiſh* Honours of the ſame Title to have the Precedence of an *Iriſh*, as a *Scotiſh* Baron, Viſcount or Earl, to have the Precedence of an *Iriſh*: and tho' an *Engliſh* Honour of like Degree has the Precedence of either of the other, yet if either of the other had a higher Title, he ſhould precede an *Engliſh* Peer under a leſs: as a *Scotiſh* or *Iriſh* Viſcount ſhall precede an *Engliſh* Baron, ſo ſuch an Earl ſhall precede an *Engliſh* Viſcount. Seventhly,

Monopolies ſwarm'd.

Baronets firſt made.

Com-

Compoſitions upon defective Titles. Eighthly, Compoſitions for *Aſſart* Lands. Ninthly, Monies for making Prince *Henry* Knight. Tenthly, Monies to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* to the *Palſgrave*. Eleventhly, A Benevolence. Twelfthly, Monies borrowed upon *Privy Seals*, and never repaid; beſides Sales of Lands, Woods and Fee-farm Rents, *&c.* *A. Reg.* 8.

During this Interval of Parliament, was perpetrated a moſt horrible Murder upon the Perſon of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, which is the more remarkable, if it be conſidered how far (tho' the King deteſted the Fact) Favourites had the Aſcendant over the King, and how the King influenced the Cauſes of this Murder; and that the Story may more entirely conſiſt, it will be neceſſary to borrow a little common Fame. Sir *Robert Carr* was made Viſcount *Roheſter* the 25th of *March*, 1610. and upon the 22*d* of *April* following, one of the King's Privy Council; and having the Aſcendant above all other Favourites over the King, he choſe a Council of ſome Perſons, how to advance himſelf in this great Power: Of theſe Sir *Thomas Overbury*, (a Gentleman of brisk and lively Parts) was the chief, who had as much an Aſcendant over the Lord *Rocheſter*, as he had over the King; and as *Rocheſter* was a Favourite, ſo was *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, who had a Daughter named *Frances*, married to *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, Son of *Robert* cut off in the laſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, who after was General of the Army raiſed by the Parliament in the late *Civil Wars*.

The Earl and Counteſs were of agreeable Years when they were married, both about the Age of twelve Years, and now had lived above ten Years without any Carnal Knowledge of one with the other (as both confeſſed when the Counteſs ſued for a Divorce) whereto the Counteſs was intolerably bent: and if publick Fame may be credited, and which is atteſted by a Writer of the firſt fourteen Years of King *James* his Life, *chap.* 7. ſhe entred into a Conſpiracy with one *Anne Turner* to have poiſoned the Earl. And how cold ſoever ſhe was in her Affections to the Earl, they were not leſs on fire to my Lord of *Rocheſter*; and that theſe Flames might ſoat

The Intrigues of the Earl of Somerſet and Counteſs of Eſſex.

A. D. 1610 in an equal height, ſhe, by the help of Mrs. *Turner*, procures one Doctor *Foreman* to bewitch *Rocheſter* into equal Deſires of mutual Love with her, and the Familiarity between them became publickly ſcandalous.

However the Earl continued his Love to the Counteſs, but withal acquainted her with the Diſhonour ſhe brought upon him, and more upon her ſelf by her looſe Life, which was now become ſo publickly taken notice of: this was ſo far from reclaiming her, that it ſtung her to the quick, and inſtead of Reformation, ſhe, by Letters to Mrs. *Turner*, *who* (the Counteſs ſays) *is all her Hopes of Good in this World*, and by her to Dr. *Foreman* (*whom ſhe calls ſweet Father, and ſubſcribes her ſelf his Affectionate Daughter*, Frances Eſſex) endeavours to procure the Doctor to bewitch the Earl to Frigidity towards her.

Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his Charge againſt my Lord *Rocheſter*, after Earl of *Somerſet*, at his Tryal for the Murder of *Overbury*, gives Sir *Thomas* hard Words, as, *That there was little in him that was ſolid for Religion, or Moral Vertue, but was wholly poſſeſt with Ambition and vain Glory, and was loth to have any Partners in my Lord of* Rocheſter's *Favour*; *and that to flatter my Lord in his unlawful Love with the Counteſs of* Eſſex, *Sir* Thomas *had made his Brags, that he had won* Rocheſter *the Love of the Counteſs, by his Letters and Induſtry.*

But theſe ſtoln Pleaſures could not ſatisfy the Counteſs's Deſires, and that ſhe might enjoy them to be compleat, ſhe endeavours, ſince the Deſign of poiſoning the Earl did not ſucceed, to make way to her Deſires of marrying *Rocheſter*, by ſuing out a Divorce againſt the ſaid Earl, which ſhe acquaints *Rocheſter* with, and *Rocheſter* and the Counteſs acquaint the Earl of *Northampton*, who before was privy, and conſenting to the Familiarity between them, and was eaſily induced to join in procuring a Divorce.

Tho' this was agreed between them, yet the Viſcount would not proceed further, till he had conſulted *Overbury*, proteſting he would do nothing without his Advice: Sir *Thomas* told him, *The marrying the Counteſs would not be only hurtful to his Preferment, but*

but helpful to ſubvert and overthrow him, and who would (being poſſeſt of ſo great Poſſibilities as he was, ſo great Honours and large Revenues, and daily in Expectation of others) caſt all away upon a Woman, noted for her Injury and Immodeſty, and pull upon himſelf the Hatred and Contempt of great Perſonages for ſo ſmall a matter. Then he willed the Viſcount to conſider with himſelf the Condition of the Counteſs, the manner of her Carriage from her Youth, her preſent Converſation, the many Envies, Diſhonours and Diſlikes which attend upon her; and beſides, which is the Opinion of the Vulgar, many Evils to attend his Subverſion and Overthrow; *That it was not the Nature of a wiſe Man to make her his Wife, whom he had made his Whore.* Laſtly, Sir *Thomas* adviſed him that he ſhould expect no better Requital from her, than ſuch as ſhe had ſhewed to her former Husband; and withal to weigh the preſent Condition he is in, and compare it with the future, and much more to this purpoſe; and that Honour is not attended by Voluptuouſneſs, nor the Ruins of a rotten Branch to be cheriſhed upon a new planted Tree; but if he meant to be made famous, and to continue that with him which he now freely enjoyed, Sir *Thomas* his Opinion was, *That he ſhould utterly leave and forſake the Counteſs's Company, and hold her both hurtful and hateful.* A. Reg. 8.

Rocheſter was ſurpriſed at *Overbury*'s Advice, falls out with him, and gives him harſh Language: but *Overbury* retorts again, and perſiſts in his Advice, and demands his Portion due to him of *Rocheſter*, and ſo leaves him to his own Fortunes.

The Counteſs was enraged at it, ſo as nothing leſs than *Overbury*'s Blood could appeaſe her Revenge; but how to compaſs it would be a work of Time, and required deep Conſideration, Secrecy and Reſolution. But we leave this Affair here to take a view of other Occurrences which happened this Year, 1610.

To the King's former Monopolies, he this Year added another, which cauſed many Commotions here, and endangered a Rupture with the *Dutch*, and this was the Caſe. The *Engliſh* at this time were not skilled in the Art of *dreſſing* and *dying Engliſh Woollen Manufactures*, but after they were made here, they

A.D.1611. were vended into *Holland*, where they were *dreſſed and died:* Alderman *Cockaine*, and ſome rich Citizens, having, as was ſaid, promiſed *Rocheſter*, *Northampton*, and the Lord Treaſurer, great Sums of Money to procure them a Patent for *dreſſing* and *dying* of *Cloths*, and that the King would ſeize into his Hands the Charter of the Merchant-Adventurers for tranſporting of *white undreſſed Cloths*; *Cockaine* pretending, that beſides the enriching the Nation, Multitudes of poor People might be employed to the Benefit of the Nation, which now were a Burden to it: Hereupon the King ſeizes upon the Merchant-Adventurers Patent, and grants to *Cockaine*, and others, a new Patent for *dreſſing and dying Cloths*.

But *Cockaine's* Project ſucceeded both ways quite contrary, for the *Dutch* prohibited the Importation of *Engliſh dreſt and dy'd Cloths from* England; and *Cockaine*, and his Company, not only dyed and dreſſed the Cloths worſe and dearer (which are ever the Conſequences of Monopolies) than they were in *Holland*, but theſe being reſtrained to a Company, they could not near dreſs and dye the Cloths made in *England*; Whereupon the making Cloths ſtood at a ſtand, and infinite Numbers of poor People, which were imploy'd in making Cloths, lay idle, and were reduced to a ſtarving Condition; this raiſed great Clamours, which arrived at the Council; which to pacify, the Council permitted ſome Quantities of white Cloths to be tranſported, but this did at preſent but skin the Soar, not cure it.

Prince Henry's Death.

This Year was wound up in a mournful *Cataſtrophe*, for upon the 6th of *November* Prince *Henry* died, in the beginning of the Bloſſom of his Youth, being 18 Years, 8 Months, and 17 Days old: A Prince adorned with Wiſdom and Piety above his Years, Strength and Ability of Body equal to any Man, of a Noble and Heroick Diſpoſition, and an hater of Flatteries and Flatterers, and therefore fell flat at odds with *Rocheſter*, not once giving him any Countenance, or vouchſafing him his Company.

I have heard my Father (who was about the Prince's Age) tell ſeveral Stories of him: Once when the Prince was hunting the Stag, it chanced the Stag be-

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ing ſpent, croſſed the Road, where a Butcher and his Dog were travelling; the Dog killed the Stag, which was ſo great that the Butcher could not carry him off: When the Huntſmen and Company came up, they fell at odds with the Butcher, and endeavoured to incenſe the Prince againſt him; to whom the Prince ſoberly anſwered, *What if the Butcher's Dog killed the Stag, what could the Butcher help it?* They replied, *If his Father had been ſerved ſo, he would have ſworn ſo as no Man could have endured it: Away*, replied the Prince, *all the Pleaſure in the World is not worth an Oath.* Another time, when the *French* Ambaſſador came to take his leave of the Prince, the Ambaſſador asked him, *What Service he would command him to his Maſter?* the Prince bid him tell his Maſter what he was a doing, being then toſſing a Pike. The Prince had an high Eſteem for Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and would ſay, *No other King but his Father would keep ſuch a Man as* Sir Walter *in ſuch a Cage*, meaning the *Tower*. A. *Reg.* 3.

His Court was more frequented than the King's, and by another ſort of Men; ſo the King was heard to ſay, *Will he bury me alive?* And the high Church-Favourites tax'd him for being a Patriot to the *Puritans*.

Never was any Prince's Death more univerſally and cordially lamented, and the more, by how much the Suddenneſs of his Death being known, before his Sickneſs was ſcarce heard of, was ſuprizing: As Mens Humours flowed they vented their Paſſions, ſome ſaid, *A French Phyſician killed him*; others, *He was Poiſoned*; others, *That he was bewitched*, &c.

Whether it were to appeaſe theſe Clamours, or out of Curioſity, I cannot tell, but Dr. *Mayerne*, Dr. *Atkins*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Palmer*, Dr. *Gifford* and Dr. *Butler* were ordered to diſſect the Prince's Body the next Day after his Death, and to give their Opinions of it, which were,

First, *They found his Liver paler than ordinary, in certain places ſomewhat wan; his Gall without any Cholir in it, and diſtended with Wind.* Diſſection of the Body.

*A.D.*1611. Secondly, *His Spleen in divers places more than ordinarily black.*
Thirdly, *His Stomach was in no part offended.*
Fourthly, *His Midriff in divers places black.*
Fifthly, *His Lungs were very black, and in divers places ſpotted, and of a thin watry Blood.*
Sixthly, *That the Veins of the hinder part of his Head were fuller than ordinary, but the Ventricles and Hollowneſs of the Brain were full of clear Water.*

However Prince *Henry* died, *Henry* the Fourth of *France* died by a violent Death, being ſtabb'd by *Raviliac* the 4th of *May* this Year, his Predeceſſor *Henry* the Third being about 22 Years before ſtabb'd by *James Clement*, a *Jacobite* Friar. At *Henry* the Fourth's Death there was an Univerſal Peace in *Chriſtendom*, when he was putting it into an Univerſal War; all the Weſtern Princes in *Chriſtendom*, except King *James*, were engaged in it, againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*: but it was ſo vaſt, as in the Nature of Things, if *Henry* had been young, as he was in the 57th Year of his Age, he could not have lived to have accompliſhed it; at his Death, tho' he lived but 13 Years after the Treaty of *Vervins*, when he made Peace with *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*, he had amaſſed ſuch a Treaſure, as is incredible, if ſo great an Hiſtorian as *Meſſeray* did not teſtify it; eſpecially, if it be conſidered, that before the Treaty at *Vervins*, *France* had for Forty Years before been imbroiled in a Civil War, and with *Spain*; and theſe Wars being in all the Parts of *France*, *France* was never before in ſo poor and feeble a State, and *Henry* himſelf, after the Peace giving himſelf up to Venery and Gaming above any King of *France* before him, or ſince. Nor can it be imagined from whence ſuch Treaſures ſhould ariſe, for there are no Gold nor Silver Mines in *France*, unleſs it were from the Trades which the *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Dane*, *Swede* and *Hamburghers* drove into *France*. However *Henry* was addicted to Women and Gaming, yet otherwiſe he excelled all the Kings of the Age, not only in Heroick Vertues, but in Prudence, Conſtancy and Secrecy in his Deſigns; curious in Enquiry into the Qualities of Men, whom he would

Henry of IV. *France's Death.*

would prefer as Qualities merited; and was pleaſant and witty in his Converſation, and always diſpoſed to take the Impreſſion of good Counſel. *A. Reg.* 9.

He left his Son (a Prince of weak Conſtitution both of Body and Mind) at Ten Years of Age, and his Wife (an imperious biggotted *Italian* to the Church of *Rome*) Regent: Theſe overthrew all the Methods which *Henry* had laid for promoting the *French* Grandure, and gave themſelves up to be governed by Favourites, yet in a different manner from thoſe in *England*, whereby they ſquandered away all that ineſtimable Treaſure which *Henry* left, in leſs than half the Time *Henry* had been collecting it; and put all *France* into Tumults and Wars, whilſt the *Engliſh* patiently ſubmitted to the Exorbitances of King *James* his Favourites, and by Proclamations were forbid to mention them, or talk of their Government, no not in Parliament: And now 'tis time to return to *England*, and ſee what's doing there.

If we begin this Year 1612, with *January*, we ſhall find two Marriages in it, to ſucceed the two Deaths of the two famous *Henry*'s of *England* and *France*: The firſt upon the 14th of *February*, between *Frederick*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, commonly call'd the *Palſgrave*, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, the King's only Daughter; and the Triumphs, Pageants, and other Gaieties upon the *Thames*, in the City and Inns of Court, far exceeded any before ſeen in *England*, ſo as the Tears for the Death of Prince *Henry*, were overflowed by the exceſs of Joy for this Marriage. *Marriage of the Lady* Elizabeth *with the* Palſgrave.

However *Northampton* was not pleaſed with it, nor the Emperor, or King of *Spain*, and from the ſame Cauſes, *viz.* It would ſo far advance the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Germany*, as to make it more formidable to the Popiſh Religion; and 'tis certain, that Queen *Anne* was averſe to it; and to put the Princeſs out of conceit of it, would uſually call her Daughter, *Good-wife Palſgrave*; to which the Princeſs would anſwer, *ſhe would rather be the* Palſgrave's *Wife, than the greateſt Papiſt Queen in* Chriſtendom. The Reaſon of the Queen's Averſion to this Marriage is not ſaid, but certain it is, that theſe fading Joys for this Marriage were

A.D. 1612. were ſucceeded by fixt and real Calamities, which the King took little Care to prevent, and ſhall never live to ſee, nor his Son after him, an End of.

An Account of the Poiſoning of Sir Thomas Overbury.

While the Preparations for ſolemnizing this Marriage were making, a different ſort was making for another, between the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and the Counteſs of *Eſſex*; and to make the Way to it more paſſable, two Rubs were to be removed, one to take off Sir *Thomas Overbury*, the other to procure a Divorce, not only a *Menſa & Toro*, between the Earl and the Counteſs, but a *Nullity*, whereby the Counteſs ſhould be free to marry as ſhe pleaſed, and ſhe had agreed upon the Perſon.

To remove Sir *Thomas* it was agreed between *Northampton*, *Rocheſter*, and the Counteſs, that Sir *Thomas* ſhould be ſent Ambaſſador to the Great Duke of *Ruſſia*, ſo that if Sir *Thomas* did accept of it, he ſhould be far enough out of the way to hinder this Deſign; and if he did not, to commit him to the *Tower*, where they would do well enough with him. The Buſineſs of the Embaſſy was no ſooner propounded to the King, but aſſented to by him; and Sir *Thomas* was not unwilling to undertake it.

How hath ſoever *Rocheſter* was to Sir *Thomas*, when he diſſwaded *Rocheſter* from marrying the Counteſs, yet now he becomes in an inſtant kind to Sir *Thomas*, and tells him, *how much he relied upon his Integrity and Parts, which, in his Abſence, he ſhould not only want, but that thereby Sir* Thomas *would give Occaſion to his Enemies, which were many, and upon* Rocheſter's *account, to ruin him, when it would not be in* Rocheſter's *Power to prevent it; but if Sir* Thomas *would refuſe to undertake this Embaſſy,* Rocheſter *would, in a ſhort Time, undertake to reconcile him to the King, and Sir* Thomas *ſhould in the mean time be at hand to aſſiſt him with his Counſil upon all Occaſions.*

This was all deep Diſſimulation, and Sir *Thomas* excuſed his going on this Errand, and this was what *Rocheſter* deſired: Hereupon *Rocheſter* poſſeſt the King, that Sir *Thomas* was not only grown inſolent and intolerable to him, but to the King, by contemning him, in refuſing to go on this Embaſſage: The King becomes incenſed hereat, and the more, as 'twas commonly,

monly ſaid Sir *Thomas* had vented ſome ſtinging Sar- *A. Reg.* 11.
caſms upon the Court, which came to the King's Hearing, and ſo ordered him to be committed to the *Tower*. *Northampton* and *Rocheſter* had prepared the Buſineſs ſo, that Sir *William Wade* was removed from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and Sir *Jervis Elvis*, a Gentleman wholly depending upon them, was made Lieutenant of it.

Upon Sir *Thomas* his Commitment, Sir *Jervis Elvis*, by Order from *Northampton* and *Rocheſter*, confines him cloſe Priſoner, ſo that Sir *Thomas* his Father was not permitted to viſit him, nor any of his Servants, tho' one deſired he might be confined with his Maſter. The Counteſs, that ſhe might not be behind-hand with *Rocheſter* and *Northampton*, had conſulted with Mrs. *Turner* for a fit Inſtrument to practiſe what was deſigned upon Sir *Thomas*: Mrs. *Turner*'s Husband was an Apothecary, and had a Servant named *Richard Weſton*, who ſince her Husband's Death was become very poor; this Man was agreed by the Counteſs and Mrs. *Turner* to be Under-keeper to Sir *Thomas*, and had a Promiſe of 200 *l.* Reward, when Sir *Thomas* ſhould be diſpatched; and that he might with more Secrecy work his Deſign, the Lieutenant had Orders from *Northampton* and *Rocheſter*, that no Man elſe ſhould come at Sir *Thomas*, and *Turner* only to wait upon him at Table, and to give Order for his Diet and Drinks.

Sir *Thomas* thus excluded from the Sight of his neareſt Relations and Servants, upon the 9th of *May* was begun the Practice of poiſoning Sir *Thomas*, in his Broth which *Weſton* brought him; and this was continued with many Varieties of Poiſoning, till the 14th of *September*, when by a Glyſter, (for which the Adminiſter had 20 *l.* Reward) he was diſpatched; but the Malice againſt Sir *Thomas* did not end with his Death; for the Blanes and Bliſters which the Poiſon had cauſed upon his Body, were interpreted to be the Effects of the *French-Pox*, and his Body was irreverently buried in a Pit digged in a very mean Place.

Here

A.D.1613 Here we may ſee the unhappy Fate of Princes above other Men, who neglecting their Duty, give themſelves up to be governed by Minions and Favourites: for private Men are accountable only for their own Actions, whereas Princes are accountable to God and Fame for all the ill Actions of their Miniſters; and how many ways was the King's Name uſed and abuſed in perpetrating this black and horrid Murder: Firſt, in getting the King to ſend Sir *Thomas* on the Embaſſage to *Ruſſia*. Secondly, in committing him to the Tower for refuſal. Thirdly, in keeping him cloſe Priſoner there, which was a Practice never known before for a Contempt; and 'twas a greater Villany to practiſe Sir *Thomas* his Death, while he was the King's Priſoner, than if he had been at large, as being more immediately under the King's Protection.

Theſe Conſiderations little affected the Court, and *Overbury*'s Deſtruction went but half way towards the deſigned Marriage between *Rocheſter* and the Counteſs; but a Commiſſion of *Delegates* under the Broad Seal, is iſſued out to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Abbot*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and *Rocheſter*, Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Sir *Thomas Parrey*, Sir *Daniel Dunne*, Sir *John Bennet*, *Francis James*, and *Thomas Edwards*, Doctors of the Civil Law, at the Suit of the Counteſs for a Divorce from the Earl of *Eſſex*.

Earl of Eſſex Divorce. Here you may ſee the Aſcendant *Rocheſter* and *Northampton* had over the King; not only in getting this Commiſſion, wherein the King's Name and Authority was abuſed; but they procured the King in the hearing of the Counteſs's Cauſe to be her Advocate, in anſwering the Objections which the Archbiſhop made againſt the Divorce: ſo as this Matter was managed, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* Dr. *Bilſon*, of *Ely* Dr. *Andrews*, of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and *Rocheſter*, with Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Sir *Thomas Parrey*, and Sir *Daniel Dunne*, were for the Divorce; and that the Counteſs was *Virgo non vitiata*, and that there was Frigidity in the Earl, and the Marriage a Nullity; and decreed the Earl to repay the Counteſs her Portion; but the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of *London*, and

and *Bennet*, *James* and *Edwards*, Doctors of the Civil Law, were againſt it. *A. Reg.* 11.

Overbury being dead, and the Divorce obtained, the Counteſs muſt not loſe the Title by this Marriage, and thereupon the 4*th* of *November*, *Rocheſter* is created Earl of *Somerſet*.

All Things are now prepared for the hopeful Marriage, and that the Solemnity might out-vie that of the *Palſgrave* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, upon the 6*th* of *December*, the Earl and Counteſs were married at *White-hall* in the Preſence of the King and Queen, Prince, and a great confluence of the Biſhops and Temporal Nobility; the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* married them, and Dr. *Mountaine* (Dean of *Weſtminſter*) preached the Nuptial Sermon, and that Night there was a gallant Maſque of Lords; but upon the *Wedneſday* following, the 29*th*, there was another of the Prince's Gentlemen which quite out-did this, and pleaſed the King ſo well, that he cauſed it to be acted again on the *Monday* following, being the 3*d* of *January*. *Counteſs* *marries* *Somerſet*.

But *White-hall* was too narrow to contain the Triumps for this Marriage, they muſt be extended into the City, and upon the 4*th* of *January*, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied by the Duke of *Lenox*, my Lord Privy Seal, (*Northampton*) the Lord Chamberlain, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, with a numerous Train of Nobility and Gentry, were invited to a Treat in the City at *Merchant-Taylors Hall*, where my Lord Mayor and Aldermen entertained them in their Scarlet Gowns: At their Entry they were accoſted by a gratulatory Speech and Muſick, the Feaſt ſerved by the choiceſt Citizens, ſelected out of the twelve Companies, in their Gowns and rich Foines: After Supper they were entertained with a *Waſſaile*, two pleaſant Maſques, a Play and Dancing; and after all, the Bride and Bridegroom, with all this *Noble Crew*, were invited to a Princely Banquet, and at three in the Morning, the Bride and Bridegroom returned to *White-hall*: and before this Surfeit of Pleaſure and Exceſs was well digeſted, the Gentlemen of *Grays-Inn*, upon *Twelfth-Day*, invited the Bride and Bridegroom to

*A.D.*1614 a Maſque. Thus theſe Gaieties, though they outlived the Year, yet ended in the Holy-days of *Chriſtmas*, as they began with them, being the next Day after *Chriſtmas*. But before the end of this Year, theſe Joys ſhall turn ſharp and ſower.

King's Pleaſures. This Year 1614, as it was the Meridian of the King's Reign in *England*, ſo was it of his Pleaſures; He was exceſſively addicted to Hunting and Drinking, not ordinary *French* and *Spaniſh* Wines, but ſtrong *Greek* Wines; and though he would divide his Hunting from drinking theſe Wines, yet he would compound his Hunting with Drinking; and to that purpoſe he was attended with a ſpecial Officer, who was, as much as could be, always at hand, to fill the King's Cup in his Hunting, when he called for it. I have heard my Father ſay, that being Hunting with the King, after the King had drank of the Wine, he alſo drank of it; and though he was young, and of an healthful Conſtitution, it ſo diſordered his Head, that it ſpoiled his Pleaſure, and diſordered him for three Days after. Whether it were drinking theſe Wines, or from ſome other Cauſe, the King became ſo lazy and unweildy, that he was *treiſt on Horſeback*, and as he was ſet ſo would he ride, without otherwiſe poiſing himſelf on his Saddle: Nay, when his Hat was ſet on his Head, he would not take the Pains to alter it, but it ſate as it was put on.

And as he thus gave himſelf up to Pleaſure, ſo he did to Favourites and Flatterers, and ſcarce heard any thing without the Prelude of *Sacred*, *Peaceful*, *Wiſe*, *Moſt Learned*, &c. Theſe made him careleſs both of his Domeſtick and Foreign Affairs, the Thoughts of which diſturbed his Pleaſures; and if at any time he was thoughtful or penſive, his Favourites made it their Buſineſs to mimick or ridicule thoſe things, eſpecially the *Puritans*, whom the King hated.

Theſe Courſes, and the King's Favourites perpetually ſucking his Treaſures, brought the King to great Neceſſities, yet he had not Courage enough to demand the Debt due to him from the *States* of *Holland*, neither Principal nor Intereſt: ſo that after

after five Years interval, a Parliament is agreed to be called, to ſupply the King's Occaſions; and the principal Cauſe to excite the Parliament to give Money, was for the Portion the King had paid for marrying the Princeſs *Elizabeth* to the *Palſgrave*, and for his Entertainment whilſt he was in *England*; tho' the King had collected Aid-Money all over the Kingdom for it. *A. Reg.* 13.

But it rarely happens when Grievances be multiplied, and the Kings become neceſſitous, that then the King and Parliament attain their Ends; the Ends being ſo different: and ſo it fell out in this Parliament, for entring upon Grievances, and remonſtrating them to the King, which was Language he was not acquainted with, he in a great Paſſion diſſolves the Parliament, and commits many of the principal Members of the Commons cloſe Priſoners, without *Bail* or *Main-prize*: and though no Law was paſſed this Parliament, nor any Notice had of it in the Statutes printed at large; yet this Benefit came of it, That the Commons voting *Cockaine*'s Patent for *Dreſſing and Dying Engliſh Cloths* to be a Monopoly and a Grievance, it was recalled and cancelled, and the vend of *White Cloths* left free.

This was the greateſt Violation and Invaſion of the Privilege of Parliament that ever was done by any King of *England* before; but tho' it began, it did not end here, neither in this King's Reign, nor his Son's after him: For after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the King extorted a Benevolence from the Subject, and thoſe who would not contribute, were to have their Names returned to the Council.

CHAP.

A. D. 1615

CHAP. III.

A further Account of this Reign, to the End of the third Parliament, in 1620.

IF from the Parliament we look into the Court, we ſhall ſee the King's Affections begin to alter towards his Favourites: My Lord of *Northampton* was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and by his Permiſſion *Romiſh* Prieſts in great Numbers ſwarmed into *England*; this was obſerved, and great Clamours were made upon it, which came to the Earl's Ears: hereupon he exhibits an Information againſt ſome of them; theſe juſtify the Truth of what they were accuſed of; the Archbiſhop *Abbot*, at the ſame time, produces a Letter from the Earl to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, wherein he ſays, *That however the Condition of the Times compelled him, and the King urged him to turn Proteſtant, yet nevertheleſs his Heart ſtood for the Catholicks, and that he would be ready to further them in any Attempt.*

This procured the King's Frowns, and the Priſoners Diſcharge; whereupon 'twas ſaid *Northampton* took ſuch Grief that he made his Will, wherein he declared *He died in the ſame Faith wherein he was baptized*, and died the 15th of *June*. Now was *Somerſet* left without his chiefeſt Support, and ſoon after another ſhall riſe up, which ſhall turn him quite out of the King's Favour.

Mr. Geo. Villiers's *firſt Appearance at Court.*

About this time one Mr. *George Villiers* appeared in Court, the youngeſt Son of Sir *George Villiers* of *Leiceſterſhire*, by a ſecond Venter, whoſe Name was *Mary Beaumont*: the Heraulds will tell you ſhe was of the honourable Family of the *Beaumonts*; and I will tell you what a Lady of Quality told me, and one who might well know the Truth of what ſhe ſaid, her youngeſt Siſter by a ſecond Venture being married to the Eldeſt Son of Sir *George Villiers*, by *Beaumont*. *Mary Beaumont* was entertained in Sir *George Villiers* his Family, in a mean Office of the Kitchin; but her

her ragged Habit could not ſhade the beautiful and excellent Frame of her Perſon, which Sir *George* taking notice of, prevailed with his Lady to remove her out of the Kitchin into her Chamber, which with ſome Importunity on Sir *George*'s part, and Unwillingneſs of my Lady, at laſt was done. *A. Rec.*

Soon after my Lady died; and Sir *George* became very ſweet upon his Lady's Woman, which would not admit any Relief without Enjoyment; and the more to win *Mary* to it, gave her 20 *l.* to put her ſelf into ſo good a Dreſs as this would procure, which ſhe did, and then Sir *George*'s Affections became ſo fired, that to allay them he married her. In this Coverture Sir *George* had three Sons, *John* after Viſcount *Purbeck*, *Chriſtopher* after Earl of *Angleſey*, and *George*, and one Daughter after married to the Earl of *Denbigh*: When Sir *George* died, *George* was very young; and Sir *George* having ſettled his Eſtate upon the Children of his former Lady, could leave the Iſſue of this Widow but very little, and her but a Joynture of about 200 *l. per Annum*; nor was it poſſible for her, out of ſo contracted a Joynture, to maintain her ſelf and them, ſo as to make ſcarce any Proviſion for them after her Death; and the Iſſue of Sir *George* by his former Lady, both envied and hated her, ſo as little could be expected from them.

To ſupply theſe Defects, ſhe married one *Thomas Compton*, a rich Country Gentleman, whereby ſhe became able to maintain and breed up her Children in a better than ordinary Education; and *George* being extraordinary handſome, was ſent Abroad, and in *France* acquired thoſe outward Advantages which more adorn'd the natural Parts which Nature had given him.

The King this Year, about the Beginning of *March* 161$\frac{4}{5}$, according to his uſual Methods, went to take his Hunting Pleaſures at *New-market*; and the Scholars of *Cambridge*, who knew the King's Humour, invited him to a Play called *Ignoramus*, to ridicule the Common Law: Never did any thing ſo hit the King's Humour as this Play did; ſo that he would have it acted and acted again, which was in-

A.D.1715 creaſed with ſeveral Additions, which yet more pleaſed the King.

At this Play it was ſo contrived, that *George Villiers* ſhould appear with all the Advantages his Mother could ſet him forth; and the King, ſo ſoon as he had ſeen him, fell into Admiration of him, ſo as he became confounded between his Admiration of *Villiers*, and the Pleaſure of the Play, which the King did not conceal, but gave both Vent upon ſeveral Occaſions. This ſet the Heads of the Courtiers at work how to get *Somerſet* out of Favour, and to bring *Villiers* in.

Somerſet was of mean and ſcarce known Parents, and as he was endued with no natural Parts, ſo neither had he acquired any, being brought up and bred a Page at Court; hereby he became as little capable of demeaning himſelf in Proſperity as Adverſity. After *Overbury*'s Confinement, he gave himſelf up wholly to be govern'd by *Northampton*; and ſoon after his Marriage, fell into an univerſal Solitarineſs and Sadneſs, ſo that it was much taken notice of: which *Northampton* obſerving, and judging, not unlikely, that his Cares aroſe from his Fears of the Diſcovery of *Overbury*'s Death, wherein they were both deeply ingag'd, which if it ſhould come to paſs, they had no other means to be ſafe, but by making themſelves ſo great, as to oppoſe all who ſhould charge them with it; or elſe by being Catholicks, to draw all that Party to aſſiſt them; and to make Matters more perplext, *Northampton*, by one *Hamon*, did encourage the *Iriſh* to continue firm in their Religion, aſſuring them, that God would one way or other protect his Church, and that now the greateſt Favourite in *England* would ſtand firm to them, and alſo give Encouragement to the Papiſts in the *North* to meet openly at Maſs, and foment the Feuds between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*; the *Engliſh* murmuring at the King's Favours more to the *Scots* than them. This ſullen Humour of *Somerſet*'s little ſuited with the King's liking, being before better pleaſed with his Gaiety, in humouring him in all his Pleaſures.

After

After *Northampton*'s Death, he was left alone to himſelf, and all *Northampton*'s Deſigns died with him; and then *Somerſet* having forſaken all Men, and being forſaken by them, appeared in his own Nature without any Diſguiſe, wretchedly penurious and intolerably covetous: There was no coming at the King's Ear but by him, nor any coming at him but by exceſſive Bribes; and as the King began to loath him, ſo all Men deteſted and hated him: So it was every Bodies Buſineſs to out *Somerſet*, and bring young *Villiers* into the King's Favour. *A. Reg.* 13.

All the Court took notice of the King's Affection to young *Villiers*, and the Queen obſerved it, and *Villiers* not to be wanting to himſelf daily appeared at Court: There was but one Obſtacle to be removed, and the Way was plain and eaſy for *Villiers* to be the King's Favourite; the King would receive none into Favour who was not firſt recommended to him by the Queen, and the Queen had obſerved ſomething in *Villiers* which ſhe utterly diſliked; and how to get the Queen to recommend him to the King, was the only Buſineſs to be done. The Queen (a Princeſs of rare Piety, Prudence, Temperance, and Chaſtity) had a great Veneration for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Archbiſhop as much an Averſion to *Somerſet*, not only for his Marriage with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, but for his other deteſtable Qualities; ſo that the Archbiſhop was the only Inſtrument which was judged could move the Queen to recommend *Villiers* to the King. *Archbiſhop* Abbot *becomes his Friend.*

It was no great difficulty to perſwade the Archbiſhop to undertake this Buſineſs; but when he propounded it, ſhe was utterly averſe from it, having before been ſtung with Favourites; but by her Obſervation of *Villiers*, ſhe told the Archbiſhop, ſhe ſaw that in him, that if he became a Favourite, he would become more intolerable than any that were before him. Hereupon the Archbiſhop declined the Buſineſs, but *Somerſet* growing daily from bad to worſe, the Archbiſhop was again prevailed upon to move the Queen to recommend *Villiers* to the King, which he did with more Importunity than before, urging *Somerſet*'s intolerable Pride and Covetouſneſs.

A.D.1615 and that he obſerved a good Nature and gentle Diſpoſition in *Villiers*; ſo that ſome Good might be hoped from him, which could never be expected from the other: at laſt the Queen aſſented to it, but withal told *Abbot*, he among the reſt would live to repent it.

After *Villiers* was recommended by the Queen, it became out of her Power, and of the Kingdom to get him out of the King's Favour, or his Son's after him, and the Archbiſhop himſelf ſhall find the Queen to have been a true Propheteſs; however, at firſt *Villiers* acknowledged his Favour to have its Original from the Archbiſhop, called him Father, and proteſted to be governed by him before all other Men; and the Archbiſhop gave him ſome Leſſons to obſerve towards the King and Queen, which *Villiers* repeated to him, and promiſed to obſerve.

In the beginning of *Villiers*'s coming into Favour he was affable and courteous, and ſeemed to court all Men as they courted him; he promoted Mens Suits to the King *gratis*, which *Somerſet* would not do, but for great Sums of Money; and hereby ſtole all the Hearts of the Courtiers and Petitioners to the King from *Somerſet*, who was now wholly forſaken by God and all Men.

Somerſet procures a Pardon. *Somerſet* thus forſaken of all Men, ſtung in Conſcience for the Death of *Overbury*, and finding a Rival in the King's Favour, ſeeks by that ſmall Portion which he had left to procure a general Pardon from the King to ſecure him in his Life and Eſtate, and to that purpoſe applies himſelf to Sir *Robert Cotton* to draw one, as large and general as could be, which he did, wherein the King ſhould declare, *That of his own Motion, and ſpecial Favour, he did pardon all, and all manner of Treaſons, Miſpriſions of Treaſons, Murders, Felonies, and Outrages whatſoever, by the Earl of* Somerſet *had been committed, or hereafter ſhould be committed*; and this Pardon the King ſigned.

Chancellor would not paſs it. But *Somerſet* graſping at too much, loſt all, for Chancellor *Egerton* refuſed to ſeal it: *Somerſet* asking him the Reaſon, he told him, he ſhould incur a *Præmunire*; and this the Chancellor told the King, who was not diſpleaſed with it: So that now all Hopes

Hopes of Pardon for Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Murder failing, he had recourſe to other Artifices, of ſuppreſſing all Letters which paſſed between him, the Counteſs, and *Northampton*, either to Sir *Thomas*, the Lieutenant, or any of the Priſoners, and to make away *Franklin* the Apothecary, who was fled into *France*, and had given Sir *Thomas* the Cliſter which diſpatch'd him; but that which *Somerſet* deſign'd for his Preſervation, 'twas thought, proved his Overthrow; but this was the Product of next Year 1615, being the 13th of the King. *A. Reg.* 13.

Tho' *Villiers* had the Aſcendant of the King's Favour above all others; yet the King's Neceſſities were never ſo great, and the Exchequer ſo poor, and the King ſo much in Debt, ſo as he had ſo much leſs means to gratify his new Favourite, as his Affections to him were more: and here it will not be amiſs to take ſome part of a View of the King's Prodigality to ſome of his former Favourites; *Somerſet* had amaſſed in Money, Plate, and Jewels, two hundred thouſand Pounds, beſides nineteen thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. The Earl of *Salisbury* (but a younger Son of Treaſurer *Burleigh*) left an Eſtate, beſides the noble Houſe and Seat of *Hatfield*, equal, nay ſuperior to moſt of the other Nobility; *Northampton* built that noble Structure in the *Strand*, now called *Northumberland Houſe*, and being unmarried, left a very great Eſtate to the Earl of *Arundel*, and others of his Houſe; the Earl of *Suffolk* (youngeſt Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had no Eſtate but what he derived from the Crown) beſides his other Eſtates, built *Audley-Inn* Palace, the nobleſt Structure ever built by any Subject in *England*, except *Hampton Court*, by Cardinal *Wooſey*, which by reaſonable Eſtimates coſt above one hundred and ninety thouſand Pounds; beſides the Largeſſes given to the Duke of *Lenox*, Sir *Alexander Hays*, and other *Scotiſh* Favourites; Sir *Henry Rich*, and other *Engliſh* Favourites. *A View of the King's Prodigality.*

Theſe had only themſelves to take care for, but this new Favourite had a Mother, two Brothers, and a Siſter, to pully up into Honours and Eſtates, tho' their Parts could not entitle them to any other than

A.D.1615. Court-Preferment; but beſides theſe, I do not find he regarded any other of his Father's Family, no more than they did him: However, until the Diſcovery of *Overbury's* Murder, he contained himſelf within the Bounds of Modeſty, as well as Courtſhip; *Somerſet* being till then, a kind of Check upon him. However the King, in his Poverty of Affairs, gave him 1000 *l.* and made him one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, and next Day Knighted him.

Poiſoning of Overbury, how diſcover'd.

Overbury's Murder had been about twenty Months conceal'd, when it was brought to light, but the Manner how was variouſly rumoured: Some talked that Sir *Thomas* his Servant gave notice of it to Sir *Edward Coke*; others, that my Lord of *Canterbury* had got Knowledge of it, and made it known to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, one of the Secretaries of State, and that by ſearching in a certain Place, he ſhould find a Trunk, wherein were Papers, which would diſcloſe the whole Buſineſs.

The King at this time was gone to hunt at *Royſton*, and *Somerſet* with him; and when the King had been there about a Week, next Day he deſigned to proceed to *New Market*, and *Somerſet* to return to *London*, when Sir *Ralph* came to *Royſton*, and acquainted the King with what he had diſcovered about *Overbury's* Murder: The King was ſo ſurpriſed herewith, that he poſted away a Meſſenger to Sir *Edward Coke* to apprehend the Earl. I ſpeak this with Confidence, becauſe I had it from one of Sir *Edward's* Sons.

Sir *Edward* lay then at the *Temple*, and meaſured out his Time at regular Hours, two whereof were to go to Bed at Nine, and in the Morning to riſe at Three: Sir *Edward's* Son, and ſome others were in Sir *Edward's* Lodging, but not in Bed, when the Meſſenger about One in the Morning knockt at the Door, where the Son met him, and knew him: Says he, *I come from the King, and muſt immediately ſpeak with your Father: If you come from ten Kings,* he anſwered, *you ſhall not, for I know my Father's Diſpoſition to be ſuch, that if he be diſturbed in his Sleep, he will not be fit for any Buſineſs; but if you will do as we do, you ſhall be welcome, and about two Hours hence my Father will riſe, and you then may do as you pleaſe,* to which he aſſented.

At

At three Sir *Edward* rung a little Bell, to give notice to his Servant to come to him, and then the Meſſenger went in, and gave him the King's Letter; and Sir *Edward* immediately made a Warrant to apprehend *Somerſet*, and ſent to the King that he would wait upon him that Day. *A. Reg.* 13

The Meſſenger went back Poſt to *Royſton*, and arrived there about Ten in the Morning: The King had a loathſome Way of lolling his Arms about his Favourites Necks, and kiſſing them; and in this Poſture the Meſſenger found the King with *Somerſet*, ſaying, *When ſhall I ſee thee again?* When he was arreſted by Sir *Edward*'s Warrant, *Somerſet* exclaimed, that never ſuch an Affront was offered to a Peer of *England* in the King's Preſence: *Nay, Man*, ſaid the King, *if* Coke *ſends for me I muſt go*; and when he was gone, *Now the Deel go with thee*, ſaid he, *for I will never ſee thy Face more.*

About Three in the Afternoon the Chief Juſtice came to *Royſton*, and ſo ſoon as he had ſeen the King, he told him, he was acquainted with the moſt wicked Murder by *Somerſet* and his Wife, that was ever perpetrated, upon *Overbury*, and that they had made him a Pimp to carry on their Bawdry and Murder; and therefore commanded him with all the Scrutiny poſſible, to ſearch into the Bottom of the Conſpiracy, and to ſpare no Man, how great ſoever, concluding, *God's Curſe be upon you and yours, if you ſpare any of them: and God's Curſe be upon me and mine, if I pardon any one of them.*

The Chief Juſtice, as well by his Place as the King's Command, impriſons *Weſton*, Mrs. *Turner*, Sir *Jervis Elvis*, *Franklin*, and Sir *John Munſon*, and examines them; and alſo *Simon Maſon*, *Munſon*'s Servant, *Paul de la Bell*, *Weſton*'s Servant, &c. againſt them: Whereupon they were all, except *Munſon*, arraigned, condemned and executed in *October* and *November* following; all of them, I ſay, except *Munſon*, whom Juſtice *Dodridg* and Juſtice *Hide* (as well as the Chief Juſtice) declared to be as guilty of the Murder as any of the other.

*A.D.*1616 There was a general Rumour, that the Chief Juſtice, making a ſevere Inſpection into *Overbury*'s Murder, found ſome Papers about the poiſoning of Prince *Henry*; and *Weldon*, in his Hiſtory *of the Reign of King* James, ſays, That the Chief Juſtice had blabbed abroa ſo much: I am ſure there was never any ſuch Acquaintance between the Chief Juſtice and him, that he ſhould blab it out to *Weldon*; whether this were true or falſe I cannot tell, but ſure the diſplacing Sir *Edward Coke* the next Year, gave Reputation to theſe Rumours.

Somerſet *and his Counteſs Condemned.*

Tho' *Turner*, *Weſton*, *Elvis* and *Franklin* were convicted and hanged laſt Year for the poiſoning of *Overbury*, yet the Trial of *Somerſet* and the Counteſs was put off till the 24th of *May* this Year; yet the Earl being a Priſoner, and utterly caſt out of the King's Favour, the young Favourite *Villiers*, having now no Competitor, roſe as faſt upon his Ruin, as he fell; and began to appear in his own Colours, from being Sir *George*, and of the Bed-Chamber to the King, in the beginning of *January* to be made Maſter of the Horſe; and upon the Conviction of the Earl and Counteſs, the King ſeized upon his huge Eſtate, only allowing him 4000 *l. per Annum* during his Life; for the King reprieved the Earl and Counteſs too, not only from Death, but Impriſonment; and the Earl 24 Years after, ſaw his Daughter married to the Duke of *Bedford*, who proved to be the Mother of many Children, whereof my Lord *Ruſſel*, cut off by King *Charles* the Second, was one, and a Lady of great Honour and Vertue.

The ſeizing of *Somerſet*'s Eſtate, at preſent afforded a plentiful Harveſt to our young Favourite; and that proportionable Honours (which were no Burden to him) might attend him, upon the 27th of *Auguſt* he is created Viſcount *Villiers*, and Baron of *Whaddon*. We will ſtay a little here, and look abroad and ſee what Diſhonour the King, by his Prodigality to his Favourites, and his ill Terms with his Subjects, brought upon himſelf.

This Year ſeven of the twelve Years Truce made between the King of *Spain*, the Arch-Dukes, and the *Dutch States*, in 1609, were worn out, and now the *Dutch*

hugely

hugely ſwelled their Trades, not only in *Europe* and *Africa*, but in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and to *Turkey*; but they could never be truly eſteemed *High* and *Mighty*, ſo long as the *Engliſh* poſſeſs'd the *Brill*, *Rammekins* and *Fluſhing*, which were the Keys of their Country, and opened the Paſſages into and out of the *Maeſe*, *Rhine*, and *Scheld*: They could not now pretend Poverty, as they did to Queen *Elizabeth* for Non-Payment of the Money, with Intereſt upon Intereſt, at 10 *per Cent.* which being two Millions, when upon the Account ſtated between the Queen and them, due *Anno* 1598, beſides the Payment of the *Engliſh* in Garriſon in the Cautionary Towns this Year, amounted to above ſix Millions, and how to get rid of this Debt, and get the *Engliſh* out of the Cautionary Towns, was the Deſign of *Barnevelt* and the *States*.

A. Reg. 14.

How the Dutch got the Brill, &c. out of the King's Hands.

Barnevelt had his Eyes in every corner of the Court; he obſerved the King was wholly intent upon his Pleaſures, exalting his Favourites, and writing againſt *Bellarmin* and *Peron*, againſt their King-killing and Depoſing Doctrines, and otherwiſe utterly neglected his Affairs both at Home and Abroad; and by how much longer he continued theſe Courſes, ſo much better might the *States* make a Bargain with him about reſtoring their Cautionary Towns, but not as Merchants, but Bankrupts. The Truce between the *Spaniard* and them was above half expired, and if the *Engliſh* ſhould keep their Towns till the War broke out again, the King might impoſe what Terms he pleaſed upon them.

Barnevelt alſo obſerved the ill Terms which the King was upon with his Subjects upon the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, and impriſoning the Members for repreſenting the Subjects Grievances, which the King made worſe by a Proclamation, forbidding Men to talk of *State-Affairs*; and that he doated upon, and was wholly governed by *Villiers*, one raw and unexperienced in *State-Affairs*, ſcarce of Age: Upon theſe Conſiderations, *Barnevelt* adviſed the *States* not to pay the *Engliſh* in Garriſon in their Cautionary Towns, tho' this was expreſly contrary to the Agreement made with Queen *Elizabeth* in 1598.

The

A.D. 1616. The *Engliſh* debarred of their Pay, apply themſelves to the King for Relief; he talked high what he would do, but the Lord-Treaſurer *Suffolk* told him, there was no Money in the *Exchequer*, to call a Parliament would be a Work of Time, and in the mean while the Soldiers in Garriſon, muſt either ſtarve or revolt; beſides, the Wounds which the impriſoned Members had, were ſo green, that the Parliament would rather ſeek to cure them, than ſupply the King's Neceſſities; and ſtarve or revolt the Soldiers might, rather than the King would abate any thing of his Bounty to his Favourites.

Hereupon it was agreed, That the King ſhould enter into a Treaty with the *Dutch*, concerning the Delivery of the Cautionary Towns; the *Dutch* expected it, and had given Orders to their Ambaſſador, *Caroon*, to treat about it, and what they would give, the King muſt take; and *Caroon*'s Inſtructions were, to give Two hundred and forty eight thouſand Pounds in full Satisfaction of the whole Debt, which was ſcarce Twelve Pence in the Pound, but was greedily accepted of by the King and his Favourites. But how well this Agreement did ſort with the Treaty made with the King of *Spain* and Arch-Dukes in *Auguſt* 1604, where, in the 7th Article, the King ſwears and promiſes on the Word of a King; *That in a competent Time he would aſſign a Treaty with the* Dutch States, *to accept and receive Conditions agreeable to Juſtice and Equity, for a Pacification to be had with the renowned Princes his dear Brethren; which if the* States *ſhall refuſe to accept, his Majeſty from thenceforward, as being freed from former Conventions, will determine of thoſe Towns according as he ſhall judge it to be Juſt and Honourable, wherein the ſaid Princes, his loving Brethren, ſhall find there ſhall be no want of theſe good Offices, which can be expected from a friendly Prince*; let the World judge.

Tho' the Bargain were agreed, yet the King and Courtiers were in fear the Money ſhould not be paid accordingly, and therefore the King wrote to the *States* in a Stile far differing from that he uſed to the Parliament; ſaying, *He knew the* States *to be his good Friends and Confederates, both in Point of Reli-*

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gion and Policy (one as true as the other, for the Religion of the *Dutch* was *Presbytery*, which the King hated, nor did he ever imitate their Policy) *therefore be apprehended not the leaſt fear of Difference between them: In Contemplation whereof, if they would have their Towns again, he would willingly ſurrender them.* *A. Reg.* 14

So tho' the *Dutch* got their Towns again, yet the King got not all the Money, for my Lord *Suffolk* kept back ſo much of it, as he was fined 30000 *l.* in the *Star-Chamber* for it, and had not eſcaped ſo, if *Bacon*, then Lord-Chancellor, had not been his Friend.

After the Sale of the Towns was agreed on, the next Debate was, what ſhould become of the Soldiers in Garriſon? But let them look to that, for the King being *Rex Pacificus*, had no need of them, they might go where they pleaſed; all the Care the Favourites had, was how to ſhare the Money among themſelves.

The diſhonourable Delivery of the *Dutch* Towns, made no Allay in his Affections to his new Favourite, who was as much given up to the Pleaſures of *Venus*, as the King was to thoſe of *Bacchus*; neither the Sale of the *Dutch* Towns, nor the ſeizing *Somerſet*'s Eſtate, would anſwer the Expence of his Pleaſures and Bounty, the diſpoſing of all Places and Offices Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, all waved as he nodded; and herein his Venality was as profuſe as his Venery.

One of the firſt that felt the Effects of his Power, was Sir *Edward Coke*, who at this time ſat very looſe and uneaſy; he had highly diſguſted the Court, and High-Church-Party, in oppoſing *Bancroft*'s Articles againſt granting *Prohibitions* at *Common-Law*. He oppoſed Chancellor *Egerton* taking notice of a Cauſe in the *King's-Bench* after Judgment given, contrary to the Act 4 *Hen.* 4. 23. and refuſed to give any Opinion in the Caſe of *Commendums*, being a Judge, before it came judicially before him: And however, *Egerton*, upon the ſwearing Sir *Henry Montague*, when he ſucceeded Sir *Edward Coke* in the Office of Chief Juſtice, declared Sir *Edward*'s depoſing was for being ſo popular; yet I have it from one of Sir *Edward*'s Sons, that the Cauſe of his Removal was this; *Sir* Edw. Coke *put out of being Chief-Juſtice.*

That

A.D. 1616. That Sir *Nicholas Tufton* being very aged, and having a Patent for Life of the *Green-wax-Office* in the *King's-Bench*, *Villiers* by his Agents dealt with Sir *Nicholas*, that if he would ſurrender his Patent, the King would make him Earl of *Thanet*; and in the mean time, *Bacon* treated with Sir *Edward*, to know whether in caſe Sir *Nicholas* ſurrendred his Patent, the Viſcount ſhould prefer another to the Office; Sir *Edward* would give Sir *Francis* no other Anſwer than this, *That he was old, and could not wreſtle with my Lord.* However, after Sir *Nicholas* had ſurrendred, Sir *Edward* refuſed to admit of a Clerk by *Villiers*'s Nomination, but ſtood upon his Right; and that the Judges of the *King's-Bench* ſerved the King to their Loſs, and therefore he would ſo diſpoſe of the Office, that the other Judges of the *King's-Bench*'s Salaries ſhould be advanced; and that hereupon he was turned out of his Place, and *Montague* put in, who diſpoſed the Office as the Favourite pleaſed. But tho' the Favourite's Diſpleaſure began here with Sir *Edward*, it did not end ſo, nor the Titles of our new Favourite, for upon the 5th of *January* following he was created Earl of *Buckingham*; however Sir *Edward* might have been reſtored again to his Place, if he would have given a Bribe, but he anſwered, *A Judge ought not to take a Bribe, nor give a Bribe.*

We begin this Year 1617, (after the King had created the Earl Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, with the Story of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Voyage to *Guiana*, which was the Cauſe of his Death, tho' upon another Score, being condemned in the firſt Year of the King for High-Treaſon in *Cobham*'s Conſpiracy. Sir *Walter* was of an ancient Family, but a younger Brother; and as he was a Perſon of admirable Parts, excellently adorned with Learning, not Pedantick, but of a nobler Strain, ſo he had a Mind far above his Fortune, and accounted Poverty the greateſt of Misfortunes; and to advance his Fortune he became a Courtier to Queen *Elizabeth*, who was as great a Diſcerner of Men, and their Qualities, as any Prince in her Time; and as ſuch, and not as impoſed by Favourites, ſhe eſteemed and preferred them. She made him Captain of her Guards, Lieutenant-General of *Cornwall*,

Sir Walter Raleigh's Riſe and Fall.

Cornwall, and Lord Warden of the *Stanneries*: but theſe were rather Honorary Titles, than profitable; and being at Enmity with the Earl of *Eſſex* (the Queen's greateſt Favourite) and the whole Family of the *Cecils* (who governed all in State Affairs) theſe put a full ſtop to Sir *Walter*'s further Riſe at Court. Thus balk'd at Court, he ſeeks Adventures abroad to raiſe his Fortunes; and the Wars continuing between the Queen and the King of *Spain*, in the Year 1595, he Mans out a Ship to *Guiana* in the *Weſt-Indies*, and the Intelligence which he had with ſome of the *Indians*, and ſome *Spaniſh* Priſoners he had taken, believed he had made a Diſcovery of ſeveral rich Mines, and had certain Marks whereby to find them again, if occaſion ſhould happen. But if he got nothing elſe by his Voyage, he got this Advantage by it, that adding Experience to his excellent Theory in Navigation, he juſtly merited the Applauſe of the beſt Director of Sea-Affairs of his time. *4 Reg.* 14.

After the Queen's Death, he was kept twelve Years a Priſoner in the Tower, where he compiled his Hiſtory of the World, a Deſign ſo vaſt, that no Man of leſs Parts, both of Body and Mind, could have accompliſhed: And while he was thus confined, he was the firſt which made publick the Growth by Sea of the *Dutch*, and the Riches they derived by their fiſhing upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, and the Conſequences which would neceſſarily follow, not only to the loſs of the King's Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, but to the Trade and Navigation of *England* otherwiſe. After that, one *Tobias Gentleman* ſet forth another Treatiſe of this Nature, and how this Fiſhery might be carried on from the Ports of *England*, and dedicated it to the King; but the King wholly giving himſelf up to Pleaſure, neither minded the one, nor regarded the other. Sir *Walter* had been diſcharged out of the Tower about two Years and an half before, but by what means I do not find, and then Poverty ſtared him in the Face (for *Somerſet* had begg'd his Eſtate) which to him was more intolerable than his Impriſonment, and how to extricate himſelf out of it was

all

A.D. 1617 all his Buſineſs: There was a new Face of Court to what was in Queen *Elizabeth's* Days, and Sir *Walter* unknown to any of them. His being freed out of Priſon was ſuch a Favour as any further was not to be hoped for: Happy had Sir *Walter* been if he had been ſtill continued, where, in the Reſtraint of his Perſon he enlarged the Faculties of his Mind to nobler Pleaſures than can be found in Senſuality, or any Temporal Greatneſs; where, by his Freedom purſuing theſe, beſides other concomitant Calamities, he brought Deſtruction upon himſelf, having firſt ſeen his Son *Walter* ſlain in the Deſign he intended to raiſe his Fortunes by.

Tho' the King was never poorer than now, yet the Nation was far richer than in all the long Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, by reaſon of the *Engliſh* Trade with *Spain*, made free by that celebrated Law of the 3*d* of the King, and at this time, and many Years before, the King of *Spain* made Count *Gundamor* his Legier Ambaſſador in *England*; the Count would ape the King in all his Humours but his Cups, and hereby became ſo intimate with him, that he diſcover'd all his Deſigns, and the Secrets of the Court.

In this Poſture of Affairs Sir *Walter* informs the King, that if he would grant him a Commiſſion, he would bring Mountains of Gold into his Exchequer from *Guiana*, to which the King opens both his Ears, and grants him a Commiſſion, directed, *Dilecto & fideli meo* Waltero Raleigh, *Militi*, which ill agreed with the Treaty made with the King of *Spain* in the ſecond Year of his Reign, wherein it was agreed, they ſhould uſe one another with all kind and friendly Offices; and by this Treaty the *Engliſh* were reſtrain'd to their Trades in *Europe*.

The Fame of Sir *Walter*, and the Expectation of Gold to be poured into the Exchequer, blazed it all Abroad, ſo as *Gundamor* gave the King of *Spain* Account of it; and this became ſo much the more publick, by how much the King could not contribute any thing but his Commiſſion towards it: and tho' Sir *Walter's* Fame induced many Nobles and Gentlemen to join with him in it, yet being diſtracted

and

and divided into ſo many Intereſts, the Expedition went on more heavily, and became every Day more known; ſo that tho' Sir *Walter* intended to have proceeded on his Voyage the beginning of *April*, it was upward in *Auguſt* before he ſet out. *A. Reg.* 15.

In his Paſſage a terrible Fever overtook Sir *Walter*, now in the ſeventy ſixth Year of his Age, which yet the Strength of his Conſtitution overcame, to bring him to his End by a worſe Fate: When he arrived at *Guiana*, he found all the Marks which he and *Kemiſh* had made, either worn out by time, being twenty Years before, or altered by the *Spaniards*, who ſo long before had Notice of his Deſign; ſo that *Kemiſh* and Sir *Walter* fell at ſuch odds about it, that *Kemiſh* killed himſelf; beſides, the *Spaniards* to prevent *Raleigh*'s Deſign, had built many new Fortifications unknown to him. Hereupon he ſtormed the Town of St. *Thomas*, wherein he loſt his Son, but took the Town and ſack'd it; and here the Soldiers took great Spoil, but with little Profit to Sir *Walter*, or any of the Adventurers: For the Soldiers and Seamen, being Reformades, and being under no ſevere Diſcipline, kept what they had got.

Now was Sir *Walter* in a moſt deſperate State, he had no Friends at Court, and which made the Matter worſe, he had diſguſted all the Nobles and Gentlemen who had engaged with him in this Expedition: he need not conſult the Augurs what ſhould be his Fate upon his Return, to prevent which he endeavoured to have got into *France*, and carry his Ship with him; but the Seamen would not forſake their Wives and Children, to partake with him in his Misfortunes, and ſo brought him back into *England*.

It was reſolved that Sir *Walter*'s Misfortunes ſhould loſe him his Head, but how to do it with a Face of Juſtice was the Queſtion; for his Commiſſion protected him from any Proſecution for the ſacking of St. *Thomas*; and it would ſeem ſtrange to execute him upon the Conviction in *Cobham*'s Conſpiracy ſixteen Years before, eſpecially ſince the King had diſcharged his Impriſonment upon it, and had granted him a Commiſſion, wherein he called Sir *Walter* his beloved and faithful Sir *Walter*. How-

A.D.1617 However this was the beſt Face could be put upon it, and upon the 28th of *October* 1618, he was brought from the *Tower* to the *King's-Bench*, to ſhew Cauſe why Sentence of Death ſhould not paſs upon him, *Montague* being Chief Juſtice, upon his former Conviction: He pleaded his Commiſſion, which pardoned his Crime; *For he could not be a Traitor, and the King's beloved and faithful Servant, at one and the ſame time*: but this was over-ruled by the Court, ſaying, *That Treaſon could not be pardoned by Implication, but by expreſs Words*: And next Day he had his Head cut off in the *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*.

In granting Sir *Walter Raleigh* this Commiſſion, you may ſee by what an undiſtinguiſhed Power *Coveteouſneſs* governs the Actions of Princes, as well as meaner Men, againſt their Honour and Intereſt; for at the ſame time when the King granted this Commiſſion, he was by Sir *John Digby* (after Earl of *Briſtol*) treating a Marriage between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, upon the Terms of a Portion of two Millions of Money with her: but if this Act of *Raleigh's*, and the difficulty of raiſing ſuch a Portion, put no ſtop to the Progreſs of it, you'll ſoon ſee an Accident which ſhall make it utterly impracticable with the Maxims and Policy of *Spain*; yet ſo far was the King blinded with the Covetouſneſs of getting the Portion, that he ſhall put his only Son into the Power of the *Spaniards* to obtain it.

Tho' *Villiers* and the King's Favourites governed the King without any Controul by the *Engliſh*, *Conchino Conchini* an *Italian*, Marqueſs *d' Ancre* and Marſhal of *France*, and his Wife, ſucceeded not ſo well in *France*; for after the Death of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, theſe two governed *Mary de Medicis*, *Henry's* Relict and Regent, as abſolute as our young Favourite did the King, which put the Princes of the Blood and Nobility into ſuch a Ferment, that they ſeveral times roſe in Tumults and Arms againſt them: Yet ſuch was their Power with the Queen, that they continued as inſolent after the King was declared of Majority, as before, whereupon the Feuds of the Princes of the Blood and Nobility grew higher; hereupon *Luynes*, the King's Favou-

rite,

rite, prompted the King to take off *Ancre* any way, which was ſo ordered, that *Ancre* coming into the *Louvre*, and reading a Letter, *Vitry*, Captain of the King's Guard, arreſted him: *Me*, ſaid *Ancre*, *Yes you by the Death of God*, anſwered *Vitry*, who cried out, *Kill him!* whereupon he was killed by three Piſtol Shots, the King owning the Fact. But *Ancre's* Fate did not end with his Life, for the next Day after he was buried, the Lacquies of the Court, and Rabble of the City, digged up his Coffin, tore his Winding-Sheet, and dragged his Body through the Gutters, and hanged it upon the Gibbet he had prepared for others, where they cut off his Noſe, Ears and Genitors, which they ſent to the Duke of *Main*, Head of the Popiſh League, and nailed his Ears to the Gates of *Paris*, and burned the reſt of his Body, and hurled part of the Aſhes into the River, and part into the Air; and his Wife ſoon after was condemned by the Parliament of *Paris* for a Witch, for which ſhe was beheaded. *A. Reg.* 16.

In the Year 1618, a Blazon Comet appeared, and the Marqueſs of *Buckingham*, by the Removal of my Lord Admiral *Nottingham* (who was ſo famous in the Overthrow of the *Spaniſh Armado* in 1588.) was made Lord Admiral, being as well qualified for that Office, as he was for being prime Miniſter of State. Villiers's *great Riſe.*

It was no wonder that *Lewis* XIII, after the Death of the Marqueſs *d' Ancre* and his Wife, ſhould remove his Mother from State-Affairs, and confine her to *Blois*, to make room for *Luynes*, to govern him more abſolutely than the Marqueſs and his Wife had done his Mother; for *Lewis* as he was of a feeble Conſtitution both of Body and Mind, ſo *Luynes* was a kind of Governor to him, appointed ſo by his Father *Henry* the IVth, to humour him in all his Childiſh Toys and Pleaſures: So tho' *Reboboam*, when forty Years old, was governed by young Men, not in Years but Underſtanding; ſo neither was it any great wonder, that *Edward* the IId, a young Man, ſhould be governed by *Pierce Gaveſton*, a Perſon of far more accompliſhed Parts than *Buckingham*, for *Gaveſton* was bred up with *Edward*, and had ſo far by his Flatteries prevailed upon him, that

A. D. 1618 *Edward* could not enjoy any Pleaſure in his Life without him. But for an old King, having been ſo for above fifty one Years, to dote ſo upon a young Favourite, ſcarce of Age, yet younger in Underſtanding, tho' as old in Vices as any in his Time, and to commit the whole Ship of the Common-wealth, both by Sea and Land, to ſuch a *Phaeton*, is a Precedent without any Example.

But how much ſoever the Safety of the *Engliſh* Nation was endanger'd hereby, yet the but mentioning any thing hereof was an Invaſion of the King's Prerogative, and meddling with State Affairs, which was above the Capacity of the Vulgar, and even of the Parliament, as you will ſoon hear. But how abſolute ſoever the King was at Home, the Face of Affairs Abroad ſtood quite contrary: for the *Dutch* having retrieved their Cautionary Towns out of his Poſſeſſion, had the King in ſuch Contempt, that they neither regarded him, nor his new Lord High Admiral; and this Year, ſays the Author of the Addreſs to the Free-men and Free-holders of the Nation, in his ſecond *Preface*, f. 13, 14. *The* Dutch *never before fiſhed upon the Coaſt of* England, *till they had begged leave of the King or Governor of* Scarborough Caſtle; *but this was now thought beneath the Magnificence of the* Hogan Mogans, *and therefore they refuſed it. They had been formerly limited by our Kings, both for the Number of their Veſſels they ſhould fiſh with, and the Time: Now they reſolve to be their own Carvers, and in order to that, denied the* Engliſh *the Sovereignty of the* Britiſh *Seas; and, as if this had not been enough, drew nearer and nearer upon the* Engliſh *Shores Year by Year, than they did in preceding Times, without leaving any Bounds for the Country People or Natives to fiſh upon their Prince's Coaſts; and oppreſſed ſome of his Subjects, with intent to continue their pretended Poſſeſſion, and had driven ſome of their great Veſſels through their Nets, to deter others by like Violence from fiſhing near them,* &c. *Secretary* Nanton, January 21, 1618. *told* Carleton, *the* Dutch *Ambaſſador: And to juſtify all this, they ſet out Men of War with their Fiſhermen to maintain all this by Force.* But it was not Fiſh our new Lord Admiral cared for; nor did he care for the King's Sovereignty of

of the *Britiſh* Seas, ſo as he might be Lord High Admiral in Name. *A. Reg.* 17.

The Sails of *Buckingham*'s Ambition were not full ſwelled, till to the Title of Lord High Admiral, the Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports was added to it, tho' he regarded the guarding the Coaſts of *England* as little as he did the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas. Nor did the accumulated Honours to himſelf alone ſatisfy his Ambition, but a new Strain, his Mother, tho' a profeſſed Papiſt, muſt be pullied up with him in a concurring Title of the ſame Honour, by being created Counteſs of *Buckingham*. *And being thus exalted, ſhe forſook her Husband's Bed, which ſhe ſanctified by being converted to the Church of* Rome; *and as her Son governed the King, ſo ſhe governed her Son, ſo that, as Mr.* Wilſon *obſerves, tho' her Son acted in appearance in all Removes and Advancements, yet ſhe wrought them in effect, for her Hand was in all Actions both in Church and State; and ſhe muſt needs know the Diſpoſition of all things, when ſhe had a feeling of every Man's Pulſe; for all Addreſſes were made to her firſt, and by her conveyed to her Son, (for he looked more after Pleaſure than Profit) which made* Gundamor *(who was well skill'd in Court Holy Water) among his other witty Pranks, write merrily in his Diſpatches to* Spain, *that there were never more Hopes of* England's *Converſion to* Rome *than now; for there were more Oblations offered here to the Mother than to the Son.* Then he tells the Marqueſs's Behaviour to attain his Ends of Ladies; how he married the Earl of *Rutland*'s only Danghter, the greateſt Fortune in *England*, but being a Papiſt, how ſhe was converted by Dr. *White* (tho' the Biſhop of *Litchfield* attributes her Converſion to Dr. *Williams*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*) but was brought back to the Church of *Rome* by the Counteſs of *Buckingham*.

The next Year Queen *Anne* died, but this is but a beginning of the King's Sorrows: This no way troubled our young Favourite, but to encreaſe the Honour of his Family by Sir *George*'s ſecond Brood, in *June* following he had his eldeſt Brother *John* created Baron *Stoke*, and Viſcount *Purbeck*. *Q.* Anne's *Death.*

A.D.1618 Such diſguſt the King had taken at the Commons repreſenting the Grievances to him in the laſt Parliament, that in his Cups, and among his Familiars upon all Occaſions, he would inveigh againſt Parliaments, ſaying, *God is my Judge, I can have no Joy of any Parliament in* England; *and that he was but one King, and there were above five hundred in the Houſe of Commons*: So as if he could have helped it, he never would have been troubled with another: but as the Marriage of his Daughter with the Elector *Palatine*, was the Cauſe of his calling the laſt Parliament, ſo the Conſequence of this Marriage put him upon the Neceſſity of calling another.

But becauſe Mr. *Ruſhworth*, *Franklin*, and all other our Writers at Home, have either miſtaken the Cauſe, or taken it too ſhort, we will look into it from Abroad.

Before *Ferdinand*, the firſt of that Name, Emperor of *Germany*, and younger Brother of *Charles* the Vth, the Kingdom of *Bohemia* was elective; and though they often choſe the *German* Emperors their Kings, after the *Turks* became great in *Europe*, as *Charles* the IVth, *Wenceſlaus* his Son, *Sigiſmund* and *Albert* (the firſt of the Family of the Houſe of *Auſtria*) yet in the Year 1440. they choſe *Uladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*, who was a *Polander*, to be their King, who being ſlain at the great Battle of *Varna* againſt *Amurath* the IId, 1444, they choſe his Son *Uladiſlaus* (an Infant) King of *Hungary*, whoſe Guardian in his Minority was *John Huniades*, the famous Champion againſt the *Turks*. After *Uladiſlaus* (who died without Iſſue) the *Bohemians*, in 1456, choſe *George Bogebracius*. After him, in 1470, they choſe *Uladiſlaus*, the Son of *Caſimir* King of *Poland*, who had Iſſue a Son named *Lewis*, and a Daughter named *Anne*, married to *Ferdinand*, Brother of *Charles* the Vth, Emperor of *Germany*: this *Uladiſlaus* was likewiſe choſen King of *Hungary*, and died in the Year 1516. his Son *Lewis* being then an Infant, was choſen King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; and ten Years after, *viz.* 1526, *Lewis* was overthrown and ſlain by *Solyman the Great Turk*, at the Fight at *Mohatz*.

With

With *Lewis* fell the Glory and Majeſty of *Hungary*, the Paradice of the World, of a ſweet and temperate Climate, a moſt healthful Air, the Soil exceeding fruitful, yet reſerving Mines of Gold and Silver in its Bowels; abounding with Cattel, of a larger Size than elſewhere, which it ſupplied *Germany*, *Italy*, and *Turkey* with; watered with the nobleſt Rivers of *Europe*, the *Danube*, the *Drave*, *Save*, *Tibiſcus*, &c. as fruitful with Fiſh as the Land was with Cattel, excelling the Countries in manifold and fair built Cities and Towns. *A. Reg.* 17.

Hungary, at the Death of *Lewis*, from the Time when *Matthias* (the Son of the famous *Huniades*) began to reign over them, for 70 Years, enjoyed perfect Peace within, and abroad had the Reputation of the moſt Warlike Nation, and of all other the beſt Frontier, to ſtop the further Rage of the *Turkiſh* Arms in *Europe*: But in this long Peace, the People, eſpecially the Clergy, became exceſſive rich, accompanied with intolerable Pride, and all other Vices which accompany Luxury and Eaſe.

In this high Conceit of themſelves, the Clergy (eſpecially *Tomerius*) put the King with an Army of 25000 Men only, to fight with *Solyman* with 300000 *Turks*, twelve to one, wherein not only the King, but alſo *Tomerius*, and the Flower of all the Nobility of *Hungary* fell; here the Fate of *Hungary* began, but did not end here.

For *Ferdinand* having married *Lewis*'s Siſter, and aſſiſted by his Brother *Charles*, ſet up for himſelf to be King of *Hungary* in right of his Wife, which the major part of the Nobility, not ſlain in the Battle of *Mohatz*, refuſed to ſubmit to, and choſe *John Sepuce*, *Vaivod* of *Tranſilvania*, to be their King; and *John* being too weak to oppoſe *Ferdinand*, flies to *Solyman* for his Aſſiſtance; ſo that *Hungary*, which before was the Barrier againſt the Progreſs of the *Turkiſh* Power in *Europe*, now opens her Gates to let it in: However, the *Turk* being engaged in Wars with the *Perſians*, *Ferdinand* prevailed againſt both, and *John* and *Ferdinand* came to this Agreement, That *John* ſhould enjoy that part of *Hungary* whereof he was poſſeſt during Life, and *Ferdinand* the whole after his Death.

A.D.1618 Soon after *John* died, leaving the Queen with Child, which proved a Son; and the Nobility, which before choſe the Father King, now chuſe the Son, and joining with the Queen, call in *Solyman* for their Aſſiſtance, who by this Call enters *Buda* (the Regal City of *Hungary*) and turns the Queen and her Son out, giving him only the Title of *Vaivod* of *Tranſilvania*: Now was *Hungary* become the Theatre for above 150 Years, of all thoſe Calamities which both Civil and Foreign Wars bring upon a Country; ſo that of the moſt fruitful and beſt inhabited Kingdom in *Europe*, it became the moſt deſolate and uninhabited, the Inhabitants being made uſe of only to be Slaves either to imperious Soldiers, or lazy and idle Clergymen.

If *Hungary* were the Paradice of the World, *Bohemia* was not leſs of *Germany*; and as an Iſland is encompaſſed with Waters, ſo is *Bohemia* environ'd with Mountains, which, like a Garden with Walls, encompaſſed a moſt rich, pleaſant and healthful Kingdom; and to this Kingdom, as well as that of *Hungary*, does *Ferdinand* lay Claim in right of his Wife; and being aſſiſted by his Brother *Charles*, and further from the Aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, he forced the *Bohemians* to ſubmit to his Empire; but this was not only during his and his Wife's Life, and her Heirs, but to his Heirs Male, tho' he claimed in right of his Wife. And herein you muſt obſerve, That the *Bohemians* at this time, as well as their Anceſtors before, were Enemies to the Popiſh Tyranny and Hereſies, ſo that *Ziſca*, the famous Captain of the *Huſſites*, about one hundred Years before, in many Battles, in Oppoſition to the Popiſh Tyranny, overthrew the Emperor *Sigiſmund*; and *Ferdinand* was a zealous Maintainer of the Popiſh Supremacy and Uſurpations in *Religion*, as well as *Tyranny*.

Ferdinand had Iſſue two Sons, *Maximilian*, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, as well as in the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and *Charles* the firſt, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*. *Maximilian* had Iſſue *Maximilian*, *Rodolph*, *Matthias* and *Albert*, Governor and Prince of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, with whom King *James* in the ſecond Year of his Reign made the League before ſpoken of.

Rodolph,

Rodolph, in 1576, ſucceeded *Maximilian* in the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, as well as in the Empire: This *Rodolph*, *Helvicus* ſays, was a Prince moſt worthy of all Praiſe, the Refuge of good Learning, Enſign of *Peace* and *Clemency*; and in the Year 1609, granted *Liberty of Conſcience* to the *Bohemians* and *Auſtrians*. *A. Reg.* 17

Matthias, *Rodolph*'s Brother, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the Empire in 1614; but *Matthias* having no Iſſue, and the Iſſue Male of *Maximilian*, ending in him, a Queſtion might ariſe about the Succeſſion to the Crowns of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*: for admitting the Succeſſion were hereditary, then by the Laws of Inheritance theſe Crowns would devolve upon the King of *Spain*, *Philip* the Third, whoſe Mother *Anna* was Daughter to *Maximilian* the Second, and therefore to be preferred before *Ferdinand*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, deſcended from *Charles*, *Maximilian*'s younger Brother: To prevent this, the Popiſh Party, jealous of the Conſequences, prevail upon, or rather forced the Emperor *Matthias* to ſurrender his Title to the Kingdom of *Bohemia* to his Couſin *Ferdinand*, a zealous Aſſertor of the *Supremacy* of the Church of *Rome*.

The *Bohemians* having this farther ſtrain of their Crown's being diſpoſed of to another, and dreading the Diſpoſition of this *Ferdinand*, aſſembled at *Prague* (the Regal City of *Bohemia*) and demand a General Diet of the Kingdom to bring their Grievances thither; herein they did not apply themſelves to *Ferdinand*, as their King, but to *Matthias* the Emperor; but *Matthias* denied, or deferred it (to uſe *Nani*'s Words, who, tho' a *Venetian*, ſeems to me to be very partial againſt the *Bohemians*) whereupon the *Bohemians*, upon the 23d of *May*, 1618, parted in a Rout, and believing the Counts *Martinitz*, *Slavata*, and *Philip Fabritus*, moſt zealous Papiſts, to be the Motives of *Matthias* his Denial, flung them out of the Windows of the Caſtle of *Prague*, but they eſcaped by a Miracle, as *Nani* ſays *lib.* 4. *p.* 127.

The Count *de la Tour* in this Commotion, makes a moſt pathetical Oration to the *Bohemians*, wherein he ſets forth, *How the Privileges of the Kingdom were violated*,

A.D. 1618 *and the Exerciſe of their Religion forbid, and made to deſcend upon the Will of Princes: That the uſurped Crown of* Bohemia *paſſed from Head to Head, as the Revenue and Inheritance of one Houſe; and to eſtabliſh an everlaſting Tyranny, being raviſhed before its Time from Succeſſors, in ſpite of Death is never ſuffered to be vacant*, &c. And then goes on, *What have we not ſuffered yet? The uſe of Life comes now to be denied us, and the Uſufruit of our Souls conteſted; but all our paſt Miſeries will not be able to call to Remembrance but ſome imperfect Repreſentations of the Calamities to come: In ſum,* Rodolph *lived amongſt us,* Matthias *has reaped us as the firſt Fruits of his ambitious Deſires;* (for *Matthias* had forced *Rodolph* to reſign the Crown of *Bohemia* to him, as *Ferdinand* had done to *Matthias*) *But what may we expect from* Ferdinand, *unknown to us, and in himſelf rigorous, directed by* Spaniſh *Counſels, and governed by that ſort of Religious Prieſts and People, who deteſt, with an equal Averſion, our Liberty and Belief? He was born and bred up in the Abhorrence of us* Proteſtants, *and why ſhould we be ſo forward to make trial of it? Since the Perſons baniſhed, the Families diſplanted, the Goods violently taken away, demonſtrate too cruelly to us, that he would aboliſh our very Being, if he could as eaſily command Nature as he uſes Force, Woe to you* Bohemians, *to your Children, to your Eſtates, to your Conſciences, if you ſuffer this* Ferdinand *to keep his footing in the Throne: And when will you attempt to ſhake off the Yoke, if you have not Courage, to do it at a Time when without Power, without Guard, the Kingdom is in your own Power, and that you have two Kings to oppoſe you, one whereof is fallen, and the other totters?* &c. which you may read at large in the fourth Book of *Nani*; and concludes, *The Lot is drawn,* Liberty, *or the* Hagman: *If Conquerors, we ſhall be Juſt, Free, and Princes; if overcome, Perfidious, Perjured, and Rebels.*

The Inhabitants of *Prague*, before diſpoſed, took fire at this Oration of *De la Tour*, and choſe a Magiſtracy of Thirty, with the Title of *Directors*, to carry on a Government in oppoſition to *Ferdinand*; and what happened in *Prague*, was no ſooner divulged through the Kingdom, but all was in a Revolt, drawing alſo the Provinces of *Luſatia* and *Sileſia*, adjoining to them, into their Confederacy.

Matthias

Matthias had a Counſellor named *Gleſelius*, upon whoſe Advice and Integrity *Matthias* relied above all other Men, who adviſed *Matthias* by all fair Means poſſible to compoſe the Commotions of the *Bohemians*; for if he ſhould come to a Rupture with them, and *Matthias* be compelled to raiſe an Army, the Intereſt of *Ferdinand* was ſuch, not only in the *Spaniſh* Councils, but the Popiſh in *Germany*, and the hereditary Countries, that he would command it, and thereby be in a Condition to raviſh the Empire from him, as he had done the Crown of *Bohemia*; and *Matthias* feeling yet this Fleſh-wound, feared that mortal one, if *Ferdinand* were put at the Head of an Army. *A. Reg.* 17.

Hereupon *Ferdinand*, without any regard to the Majeſty and Authority of *Matthias*, reſolved to arreſt *Gleſelius*, and ſeparate him from giving any farther Advice to *Matthias*; and one Day, being called to Council, where the King was with one *Ognate*, *Gleſelius* was ſeized upon by *d'Ampiere* and *Prainer*, and put into a cloſe Coach, and guarded it by an hundred Horſe, hurried away to *Inſpurg*.

Matthias was aſtoniſhed at this bold Inſolence, which ſtruck at his Authority in the tendereſt part, and now without any Council, left in the Hands of his Couſin, who deſigned to riſe out of his Ruin, became ſo overwhelmed with Melancholy, that both aſleep and awake, he could not be with-held from crying out with a loud Voice, *That* Gleſelius *might be brought back again*; but all to no purpoſe, for he ſhall never live to ſee him again; and in theſe Agonies he had ſome thought to have caſt himſelf into the Arms of the *Bohemians*, but it was not in his Power to do it. Theſe things were in 1618, at the end whereof *Matthias* died.

Theſe Commotions in *Bohemia* and other parts of the Empire, encreaſed after the Death of *Matthias*, ſo that the Election of an Emperor was controverted till the 30th of *Auguſt* 1619, when *Ferdinand* was choſen, having by large Promiſes prevailed upon *George* Duke of *Saxony* to vote for him.

But

A.D.1619 But however, the *Bohemians* were ſtiff in oppoſing his Election to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and offered the Crown to *Charles*, Duke of *Savoy*, tho' a Popiſh Prince, and who had a better Title to it than *Ferdinand*, his Mother being a younger Daughter of *Maximilian* the Second, but prevailed upon by the Pope and *Spaniſh* Councils, he refuſed it, as did the Duke of *Saxony*; and then they choſe *Frederick* Count *Palatine*, hoping to receive great Aſſiſtance from King *James* his Father-in-law, but were miſtaken in the Man.

Misfortunes of the King of Bohemia.

Upon this Election, Archbiſhop *Abbot* was all on Fire, to perſwade the King to aſſiſt his Son-in-Law, and to that purpoſe wrote a long perſwaſive Apology to him concerning it, but the King and Biſhop were not of the ſame Opinion; for the King would have it, that the Election of his Son-in-Law was upon the Score of Religion, not Right, and therefore diſſwaded him from it; but being a mighty Man of Embaſſies, as well as Words, publiſhed, that he would aſſiſt his Son-in-Law, and diſpatched an Ambaſſador to *Vienna*, propoſing that *Bohemia* ſhould remain to *Frederick*: But if his Authority by Words would not ſettle his Son-in-Law, King *James* could not go further. *Frederick* thus forſaken by his Father-in-Law, raiſed upon his own Account 10000 Foot and 2000 Horſe, and entred *Prague*; and was crown'd King on the fourth of *November* 1619, and was no ſooner crowned, but laid the Foundation of his own Ruine; for the Counts *De la Tour* and *Mansfield*, who had raiſed two Armies, and kept up the *Bohemians*, till the King's coming to *Prague*, were not only neglected, but the Prince of *Anhalt*, whom the King brought with him, was made not only Generaliſſimo of the Army the King brought, but of the Armies raiſed by *de la Tour* and *Mansfield*; beſides, the King, tho' he had got a vaſt Treaſure, was niggardly in paying the Soldiers, which neceſſitated them to take free Quarters upon the *Bohemians*.

In this diſguſted State with the *Bohemians*, the King having withdrawn ſo great Forces out of the *Palatinate*, left it expoſed to the Ravages of the *Spaniards*, who, under the Command of *Ambroſe*, Count *Spinola*, made terrible Wars in the *Palatinate*.

Here

Here you may ſee how unhappy King *James* was in the Peace or Truce he procured the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Dukes to make with the *Dutch* in 1609, for Twelve Years; for in this Interval, the *Dutch* not only retrieved their Cautionary Towns, but the Truce ſtill continuing, the Arch-Duke had not only an Opportunity to aſſiſt the Emperor, but to ſend *Spinola* with an Army to invade the *Palatinate*; and the Emperor by an Imperial Ban, had proſcrib'd the King's Son-in-Law a Traitor and Rebel to the Empire, and thereupon forfeited his Electoral Dignity and Eſtate, which he gave to *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and committed the Execution of it to Arch-Duke *Albert*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and Duke of *Bavaria*. *A. Reg.* 18.

King *James* was ſtartled at this Return to his Propoſition at *Vienna*, that his Son-in-Law ſhall poſſeſs the Crown of *Bohemia*; and now complains that his Childrens Patrimony would be loſt, that he would not ſit ſtill, and therefore ſent another Ambaſſador to the Arch-Duke at *Bruſſels*, to expoſtulate the matter; and this was the utmoſt he was able to do, and was forced to ſtrain his Credit for it; But leſt this ſhould not do, tho' ſore againſt his Will, he reſolved to call another Parliament, and try their *Good-Will* towards it.

But that we may take all Things before us, as they ſtood at the Meeting of this Parliament, the King, notwithſtanding the Attempt of *Raleigh* upon the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, had ſtill by *Digby* continued the Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales*, and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, with the ſame Confidence of Succeſs, as if the King of *Spain* had not been concerned in Sir *Walter*'s Expedition: But *Spain* demanded high Privileges for the *Romaniſts*, which amounted to little leſs than a *Toleration*; and that the Pope muſt be ſatisfied in his Conſcience, before he could grant a *Diſpenſation*, both which the King and Prince agreed to, and were ſigned by them both.

But however, the Agreement between the Pope, King and Prince was not much known, the Liberty granted to the *Roman* Catholicks was generally taken notice of; and beſide, the Generality of the Nation, notwith-

A.D. 1619 notwithſtanding the Benefits received by the *Spaniſh Trade*, ſtill retained an Averſion to the *Spaniards*, which made the Match hated and feared by them; and how much more they hated and feared the *Spaniards*, ſo much more zealous were they for the King's Aſſiſtance of his Son-in-law in his Title to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as well as in the Preſervation of the *Palatinate*, now invaded by the Emperor and King of *Spain*.

Thus Things ſtood when the King's Neceſſities forced him to the unwilling Reſolution of calling another Parliament: but they did not ſtay here, for upon the 9th of *November* happen'd the fatal Battle at *Prague*, fought by above 60000 Combatants, wherein, tho' the *Bohemians* were ſuperior in Number, the *Imperialiſts* were in Diſcipline and Valour; and tho' the King was the principal Object of the War, yet he thought not fit to engage in the Battel, but ſtood at a diſtance out of Harm's way to obſerve the Event of it.

After two Hours Fight, the *Bohemians* were utterly overthrown and routed, 6000 being killed, and more taken Priſoners, with all their Colours, Baggage, Guns and Ammunition, and ſcarce 300 of the *Imperialiſts* killed; the Prince of *Anhalt* was the firſt who gave the King notice of his Overthrow, with Advice to provide for his Safety, which the King thought to do by flying back into *Prague*, but found no Safety there.

For the Duke of *Bavaria*, General of the *Imperialiſts*, followed him cloſe, and ſummoned him to ſurrender the City, and quit his Claim to the Kingdom: The King demands twenty four Hours reſpite to anſwer, but *Bavaria* only grants him eight; to which, without any Reply, next Morning, the King, with the Queen, big with Child, and their Children, fly out of *Prague*, and by unfrequent Ways, by almoſt a Miracle, eſcape to *Uratiſlavia*, leaving the Heads of his Party in *Prague* to be Victims, after an horrible Sacrifice, to their enraged and bloody Enemies, and all that ineſtimable Wealth, which he had got together, and was ſo niggardly of to his Soldiers, to be a Prey to his Enemies alſo,

In

In this diſaſterous State, *Frederick* driven out of *Bohemia*, the *Palatinate* invaded and over-run by *Spinola*, and having loſt all his Wealth, as well as Kingdom and Country, he retired with his Wife and Children into *Holland*; more ſupported by the *Dutch*, Prince of *Orange*, and ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility, and Archbiſhop *Abbot*, than by the King, whoſe Bounty lay another way; and ſince he could not obtain Aids from his Father-in-law for the Preſervation of his Country, yet he became a Suitor to the King to ſollicite the *Imperial* Court for the Conſervation of the *Palatinate*; which the King did, but did him no good, and further the King would not go; but vainly promiſed to himſelf he could do it, by the Marriage of his Son to the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and get two Millions of Money for her Portion to boot. *A. Reg.* 20.

Though the *Engliſh* Nobility patiently truckled under the Ambition and Covetouſneſs of *Buckingham*, yet the ſame *Genius* was not found in the *French* Princes of the Blood, and Nobility, under the prodigious Pride, and exorbitant Promotions of *Luynes*: to reſtrain them, or it may be to force *Luynes* from the King's Favour, the Queen Mother made a League with the Counts of *Soiſſons* and *Vendoſm* and Grand Prior of *France*, (both natural Sons of *Henry* the IVth) againſt him, and the Dukes of *Longuevil*, *Main* and *Eſpernon* joined with them, ſo did thoſe of the reformed Religion under the Duke of *Rohan*, and his Brother *Sobiez*, Princes of the Blood of the Line of *Navarre*.

But theſe Commotions, being ſudden and ungrounded, were ſoon ſuppreſt, and the King was reconciled to the Queen and Popiſh Nobility, and the greateſt Loſs fell upon thoſe of the reformed Religion, who loſt St. *John de Angely*, *Gergeau*, *Sancerre* and *Saumur*, which were all the Cautionary Places which the *Reformed* had upon the *Loire*, and alſo *Suilly*, *Merac* and *Caumont*.

King *James*, that he might as much appear for the *Reformed*, as he had done for his Son-in-law, ſent Sir *Edward Herbert*, after Baron *Herbert* of *Cherberry*, his Ambaſſador into *France*, to mediate a Peace between the

*A.D.*1720 the King and the *Reformed*, and in Caſe of Refuſal, to uſe Menaces, which Sir *Edward* bravely performed, to *Luynes*, and after to the *French* King himſelf; which being miſrepreſented to King *James*, Sir *Edward* was recalled, and the Earl of *Carliſle* was ſent Ambaſſador into *France* in his room; and the Earl finding the Truth to be otherwiſe than was repreſented by *Luynes*, acquainted the King with it: Hereupon Sir *Edward* kneeled to the King, and humbly beſought him, that ſince the Buſineſs between *Luynes* and him was become publick, that a Trumpeter, if not an Herald on Sir *Edward*'s Part, might be ſent to *Luynes*, to tell him, *That he had made a falſe Relation to the King of the Paſſages between them; and that Sir* Edward *would demand Reaſons of him with Sword in Hand on that Point:* but the King was not pleaſed to grant it; and here began the Downfal of the Power of the *Reformed* in *France*, and the Riſe of the *French* Grandeur by Land.

Parliament meets, and their Proceedings.

In this rotten and teachy State of Affairs, before the Meeting of the Parliament, the King iſſued out a Proclamation, (of which he was as prodigal, as bountiful to his Favourites) forbidding Men to talk of *State-Affairs* (as if his Favourite *Buckingham*, who governed all, was ſo mindful of them;) nor was the King leſs jealous of the Parliament's meddling with *State-Affairs*, than of the Peoples talking of them out of Parliament, ſo that the King upon the opening of the Parliament the 30th of *January*, told them of the Conſtituting Parts of a Parliament, and how it was twelve Years ſince he had received any Aids from Parliaments; and how that though he had proſecuted a Treaty of Marriage between the Prince and *Infanta* of *Spain*, which if it were not for the Benefit of the eſtabliſhed Religion in *England*, and of the *Reformed* Abroad, he was not worthy to be their King; and though he had refuſed to aſſiſt his Son-in-law in his Election to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, being a Matter of Religion contrary to what he had wrote againſt the Jeſuits, yet that he could not ſit ſtill, and ſee the Patrimony of his Children torn from them by the Emperor: and therefore was reſolved to raiſe an Army next Summer;

Summer; and that he would engage his Crown, his Blood and Soul for the Recovery of the *Palatinate:* And having before told the Commons of their Duty to petition the King, and acquaint him with their Grievances, but not to meddle with his Prerogative; he after tells them, that who ſhall haſten after Grievances, and deſire to make himſelf popular, has the Spirit of *Satan.* *A. Reg.* 19.

The Parliament, notwithſtanding the Violation of their Privileges in the laſt, by the King's impriſoning their Members; yet being zealous to aſſiſt the King againſt the Emperor, and King of *Spain*, in favour of the *Palſgrave*; though the Nation at no time before ſo much abounded in Corruption and Grievances, yet to humour the King, inverted the Methods of Proceedings in Parliament; the Commons granted him two entire Subſidies, and the Clergy three, before they entred upon Grievances, which ſo pleaſed him, that in a Speech in the Houſe of Lords, he declared it was more acceptable to him than Millions, it ſhewing he reigned in the Love and Affections of his Subjects; but he did not long hold in this Mind.

At this Seſſions Sir *Giles Mompeſſon* and Sir *Francis Michel*, were ſentenced and degraded, for erecting new Inns and Ale-houſes, and exacting great Sums of Money by pretence of Letters Patents granted for that purpoſe; Sir *Giles* fled, and ſo eſcaped a further Puniſhment; but Sir *Francis* was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment in *Finsbury* Gaol. Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viſcount *Verulam*, and Lord Chancellor, was likewiſe cenſured, depoſed, fined, and committed Priſoner to the *Tower* for Bribery; and *Bacon*'s Fall was Doctor *Williams*'s Riſe, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, to be Lord Keeper of the *Great Seal.*

But the Commons debating the Growth of Popery, and the dangerous Conſequences of the *Spaniſh* Match, the King, upon the 4th of *June* (which the Commons took to be an Invaſion upon their Privileges) by Commiſſion adjourned them to the 14th of *November*, and by a Proclamation forbid the talking of *State Affairs.* In this Receſs, the *Spaniards* took *Stein* in the Lower *Palatinate*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*

A.D.1621 *via* all the Upper *Palatinate*, and the Arms of *Lewis* prevailed more upon the *Reformed* in *France*; yet none of theſe prevailed upon the King further than to mediate a Suſpenſion of Arms, in order to treat an Accommodation between the Emperor and his Son-in-law, and the *French* King and the *Reformed*, which had no other Effect, but to make the King contemptible in *Germany* as well as *France*; his Power and Authority being bounded up only in Words and Meſſages, which the King's Ill-willers blazing abroad, coſt the King more than would have recovered the *Palatinate*.

However, the King abated nothing of his Pleaſure and diſſolute Life, but, according to his uſual Method, in the *Autumn* went to *New-market* to divert himſelf with Hunting, from the trouble of Affairs, either Foreign or Domeſtick, leaving his Favourite *Buckingham* Dictator of all his Affairs when the Parliament met again: But how remiſs ſoever the King was of his Affairs, the Commons were not, perhaps heated by their Adjournment, and alarmed at the Progreſs of *Lewis* againſt the *Reformed* in *France*; and of the Emperor, and King of *Spain*, not only in the *Palatinate*, but all over the Empire againſt the Proteſtants; and alſo with the Liberty which the Popiſh Party took, upon the Hopes they conceived would accrue to them by the *Spaniſh* Match, ſtill as fervently purſued by the King and Prince as ever, the King being encouraged hereto by the Earl of *Briſtol*, his Ambaſſador in *Spain*, but more by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Gundamor*: A Perſon, as *Nani* obſerves, who with a ſtupendous Acuteneſs of Wit, ſo confounded pleaſant things with ſerious, that it was not eaſy to be diſcerned when he ſpoke of Buſineſs, and when he rallied; he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the Mind of the King, that he need not take any further Care of reſtoring his Son-in-law to the *Palatinate*, but by Prince *Charles* his marrying with the *Infanta*, the Treaty whereof now is eight Years old, being brought to Maturity and Perfection ſo ſoon as the Pope ſhould grant a Diſpenſation.

The

The Houſe of Commons hereupon, being ill ſatisfied with the Diſtribution of the Subſidies, reſolved to proceed upon Grievances before they granted more Supplies, and drew up a long and particular Remonſtrance, ſetting forth the dangerous State of the Nation, and of *Chriſtendom*, by the Alliances of the Pope and Popiſh Princes, eſpecially the King of *Spain*, chief of the *League*; and what diſmal Conſequences would follow by the Marriage of the Prince with the *Infanta*, &c. yet reſolve to grant the King another Subſidy for carrying on the War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; but withal, humbly deſired his Majeſty to paſs ſuch Bills, as ſhould be prepared for his Honour, and the general Good of his People, accompanied with a general Pardon as is uſual. *A. Reg.* 19.

The Noiſe of this *Remonſtrance* ſo diſturbed the King in his Pleaſures at *New-market*, which all his Cares for the Preſervation of his Son-in-law's Patrimony could not do, that upon the 3d of *December* he wrote to Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, this Letter, which becauſe of the Rarity of it by any King of *England* to his Parliament before, we will give *verbatim*.

Mr. Speaker,

WE have heard by divers Reports to Our great Grief, that Our diſtance from the Houſes of Parliament, cauſed by our Indiſpoſition of Health, hath emboldned them to the fiery and popular Spirits of ſome of the Commons, to argue and debate publickly of Matters far above their Reach and Capacity, tending to Our high Diſhonour, and breach of Prerogative Royal. Theſe are therefore to command you to make known in Our Name unto the Houſe, that none therein from henceforth do meddle with any thing concerning Our Government, and deep Matters of State, and namely, not to deal with our dear Son's Match with the Daughter of Spain, *nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other of Our Friends and Confederates; and alſo not to meddle with any Man's Particulars, which have their due Motion in any of Our ordinary Courts of Juſtice. And whereas We hear they have ſent a Meſſage to Sir* Edwin Sandys, *to know the Reaſons of his late Reſtraint, you* King's Letter to the Speaker.

A.D.1621 *ſhall, in our Name, reſolve them, that it is not for any Miſdemeanor of his in Parliament; but to put them out of doubt of any Queſtion of that nature, that may ariſe among them hereafter, you ſhall reſolve them in our Name, that We think Our ſelf very free and able to puniſh any Man's Miſdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their Sitting as after, which we mean not to ſpare hereafter, upon any Occaſion of any Man's inſolent Behaviour there, that ſhall be miniſtred unto Us: And if they have already touched any of theſe Points, which we have forbidden, in any Petition of theirs which is to be ſent to Us, it is Our Pleaſure that you tell them, That except they reform it before it comes to Our Hands, We will not deign the Hearing nor Anſwering of it.*

Remonſtrance of the Commons to him.

The Commons having a publick Truſt repoſed in them, and truly apprehenſive of the dangerous State of the Proteſtants in *Chriſtendom*, as well as of the Kingdom; and that not only the King's Remiſneſs in taking care of both, but the Deſigns he proſecuted, were equally dangerous to both; in a moſt humble and ſupplicant Remonſtrance, repreſent to the King his Recommendation of the Affairs of the *Palatinate* to them, and the dangerous State of *Chriſtendom*: in diſcourſe whereof they did not aſſume to themſelves any Power to determine of any part thereof, nor intend to encroach or intrude upon the *Sacred Bounds* of his Royal Authority, to whom, and to whom only, they do acknowledge it does belong to reſolve of Peace and War, and of the Marriage of the moſt noble Prince, his Son; but as his moſt loyal and humble Subjects do repreſent theſe things to his Majeſty, which otherwiſe could not, ſo clearly come to his Knowledge, *&c.*

They beſeech his Majeſty that they may not undeſervedly ſuffer by the Miſinformation of partial and uncertain Reports, which are ever unfaithful Intelligencers; and not give Credit to private Reports againſt all, or any of their Members, whom the Houſe hath not cenſured, until his Majeſty hath been truly informed from themſelves, that they may ſtand upright in his Majeſty's Grace and good Opinion, than which no worldly Conſideration can be dearer to them, *&c.*

The

The King having caſt the Sheet-Anchor of all his Hopes upon the *Spaniſh* Match, whereby he ſhould not only re-eſtabliſh his Son-in law in the *Palatinate*, and get more Money than he could hope for in Parliament, furled all his Sails, and reſolved to ride out this Storm of the Commons, notwithſtanding his Pleaſures and Indiſpoſition of Health, in a long Invective againſt them in a *Scotiſh* Dialect; the Heads whereof were, *A. Reg.* 19.

1. That he muſt repeat the Words of Queen *Elizabeth* to an inſolent Propoſition, made by a Ambaſſador, *Legatum expectabamus, Heraldum accepimus*, that he had great Reaſon to have expected better from them; for the thirty ſeven Monopolies and Patents called in by him ſince the laſt Receſs; and for the three, whereof *Mompeſſon* and *Michel* were cenſured: but of theſe he heard no News; but on the contrary, Complaints of Religion, tacitely implying his ill Government. *King's Anſwer.*

2. That the taxing him with truſting to uncertain Reports, and partial Informations concerning their Proceedings, was needleſs, being an old and experienced King, and in his Conſcience the freeſt of any King alive from hearing or truſting to idle Reports: That in the Body of their Petition, they uſurp upon his *Prerogative Royal*, and meddle with things far above their Reach, and then proteſt to the contrary; as if a Robber ſhould take away a Man's Purſe, and then proteſt he meant not to rob him.

3. That his Recommendation of the War for regaining the *Palatinate*, was no other than if it could not be recovered otherwiſe; which can be no Inference, that he muſt denounce War againſt the King of *Spain*, break his deareſt Son's Match, and match him to one of our Religion; which is all one as if we ſhould tell a Merchant we had great need to borrow Money of him for raiſing of an Army, and that thereupon it ſhould follow, that we were bound to follow his Advice in the Direction of the War: That this Plenipotency of theirs, inveſts them with all Power upon Earth, lacking nothing but the

A.D.1621 Pope's, to have the Keys both of Heaven and Purgatory: That it was like the *Puritans* in *Scotland*, to bring all Cauſes within their Juriſdiction; or like *Bellarmine*'s diſtinction of the Pope's Power over Kings, *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, whereby he gives them all Temporal Juriſdiction over them.

4. That he expected the Commons would have given him Thanks for the long maintaining a ſettled Peace in all his Dominions, when all our Neighbours about are in a miſerable Combuſtion of War; but *Dulce Bellum inexpertis*.

5. That he had ever profeſſed to reſtore his Children to their Patrimony by War or Peace, and that by his Credit and Interveſtion with the King of *Spain* and Arch-Dukes, he had preſerved the Lower *Palatinate* from the farther conquering for one whole Year; and that his Lord Ambaſſador *Digby* had extraordinarily ſecured *Heidelburg*.

6. That he could not couple the War of the *Palatinate* with the Cauſe of Religion, and that the War was not begun for Religion, but only by his Son-in-law's haſty and raſh Reſolution to take to himſelf the Crown of *Bohemia*; and that this Uſurpation of it from the Emperor, had given the Pope, and that Party, an Occaſion to oppreſs and curb many thouſands of our Religion in divers parts of *Chriſtendom*.

Here I deſire that the Reader take notice of the Caſe of the *Bohemians*, as it is ſet forth by *Baptiſta Nani*, after they had *Liberty of Conſcience* granted them by *Rodolph* the Emperor, and that *Ferdinand* had no colour of Title to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, but as he forced the Emperor *Matthias* to ſurrender it to him.

Ferdinand, ſays he, bred up in the Catholick Faith, deteſted all ſorts of Error; and therefore by how much not ſucceeding to the Father, he found the Patrimonial Countries incumbred with falſe Opinions, ſo much more with ſignal Piety had he applied himſelf to promote the true Worſhip, with ſuch Succeſs, that at laſt thoſe Provinces rejoyced to be reſtored to the Boſom of the ancient Religion:

But

But this was not without ſome ſort of Severity, ſo that many, not to leave their Errors, were conſtrained to abandon their Country, and ſell their Eſtates, living elſewhere in Diſcontent and Poverty; and others driven away by force, and their Eſtates confiſcate, ſaw them, not without Rancour, poſſeſſed by new Maſters; *and all this done in the Life of* Matthias: *So that* Ferdinand, *as his Title was Uſurpation and Force, ſo was the Exerciſe of it Tyranny in the higheſt Degree, to the Overthrow of the* Bohemian *Laws and Liberties; therefore the Original of the* Bohemian *War was not founded in the Election of* Frederick *to be King, for* Ferdinand *perpetrated theſe Things two Years before.* *A. Reg.* 19.

Nani goes on and ſays, in the Empire therefore, in which the Religion, no leſs than the *Genius*, is for Liberty, there appeared great Apprehenſions, that where *Ferdinand* ſhould get the Power, he would exerciſe the ſame Reformation, and impoſe a Yoke ſo much the more heavy, by how much ſtanding in need of Money, and the Counſels of *Spain*, he ſhould be governed by the Rules and Maxims of that Nation, ſo hateful to the *Germans*: *So that it was not the Election of* Frederick *to be King of* Bohemia, *that opened that Gate for the Pope and his Party, for curbing and oppreſſing of many thouſands of our Religion in divers parts of* Chriſtendom, *as the King ſaid, for it was ſet wide open before by* Ferdinand.

7. That the Commons Debates concerning the War with *Spain* and *Spaniſh* Match, were Matters out of their Sphere, and therefore *Ne ſutor ultra crepidam*, and are a Diminution to him and his Crown in Foreign Countries: That the Commons in their Petition had attempted the higheſt Points of Sovereignty, except the ſtamping of Coin.

8. That for Religion, he could give no other Anſwer than in general, that the Commons may reſt ſecure, he will never be weary to do all he can for the Propagation of ours, and repreſſing of Popery; but the manner they muſt remit to his Care and Providence.

A.D.1621 9. That for the Commons Requeſt of making this a Seſſions, and granting a *General Pardon*, it ſhall be their fault if it be not done: But the Commons required ſuch Particulars in it, that he muſt be well adviſed, leſt he give back double or treble of that he was to receive by their Subſidy: but thinks fit that of his free Grace, he ſends down a Pardon from the higher Houſe, containing ſuch Points as he ſhall think fitteſt.

10. He thinks it ſtrange the Commons ſhould make ſo bad and unjuſt a Commentary upon ſome Words in his former Letter, as if he thereby meant to reſtrain the Commons of their ancient Privileges and Liberties in Parliament, wherein he diſcharges them from meddling with Matters of Government and Myſteries of State, namely Matters of War and Peace, or his deareſt Son's Match with *Spain*, or that they meddle with things which have their ordinary Courſe in the Courts of Juſtice: That a Scholar would be aſhamed ſo to miſ-judge and miſ-place Sentences in another Man's Book, for in the coupling theſe Sentences they plainly leave out Myſteries of State, and ſo err, *a bene diviſis ad mala conjuncta*: that for the former part concerning Myſteries of State, he plainly reſtrained his meaning to the Particulars which were after mentioned; and for the latter, he confeſſes he meant it by Sir *Edward Coke*'s fooliſh Buſineſs, and therefore it had well become him, eſpecially being his Servant, and one of his Council, to have complained to him, which he never did, tho' he was ordinarily at Court, and never had Acceſs refuſed him.

Sir Edward Coke's *Buſineſs was a Conſpiracy by Chancellor* Bacon, *one* Lepton *and* Goldſmith, *after he was diſcharged from being Chief Juſtice, to have exhibited an Information againſt him in the* Star-Chamber, *or have ſent him into* Ireland: *The Buſineſs was debated in the Houſe of Commons, but Sir* Edward *complained not, nor appeared to ſpeak in it.*

If the King were uneaſy with the Commons *Remonſtrance*, the Commons were not leſs with the King's Anſwer, and at the Reſolution taken at Court,

to

to adjourn the Parliament to the 8th of *January* next, which the Commons took to be a Violation of their Privileges, and an Omen of their Diſſolution; whereupon they entred this Proteſtation. *A. Reg.* 19.

THE Commons now Aſſembled in Parliament, being juſtly occaſioned thereunto, concerning ſundry Liberties, Franchiſes and Privileges of Parliament, among others here mentioned, do make this Proteſtation *following, That the Liberties, Franchiſes, Privileges and Juriſdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance of the Subjects of* England, *and that the arduous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, State and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of* England, *and the maintenance and making of Laws, and Redreſs of Grievances and Miſchiefs which may happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects, and Matter of Counſel and Debate in Parliament; and that in the handing and proceeding of thoſe Buſineſſes, every Member of the Houſe of Parliament hath, and of Right ought to have freedom of Speech, to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring to Concluſion the ſame: And that the Commons in Parliament have like Liberty and Freedom to treat of theſe Matters in ſuch order, as in their Judgment they ſhall think fitteſt: And that every Member in the ſaid Houſe, hath likewiſe freedom from all Impeachment, Impriſonments and Moleſtation (other than by Cenſure of the Houſe it ſelf) for, or concerning any ſpeaking, reaſoning, or declaring any Matter or Matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament Buſineſs. And that if any of the ſaid Members be complained of, and queſtioned for any thing done or ſaid in Parliament, the ſame is to be ſhewed to the King, by the Advice and Conſent of all the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, before the King give Credence to any private Information.* Commons Proteſt.

If the King was alarmed at the Commons Remonſtrance, this Proteſtation of the Commons was ſuch an Invaſion upon his *Sacred Prerogative Royal*, that neglecting his Pleaſures and Health, which he took ſuch Care to preſerve, by retiring into the Country; up he now comes to *London*, and upon

A.D.1721 the 30th of *December*, and in a full Assembly of Council, and in the Presence of the Judges, declares the said *Protestation* invalid, annull'd and void, and of none effect, & *Manu sua propria*, takes the said *Protestation* out of the Journal-Book of the Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament, and commanded an Act of Council to be made thereupon, and this Act to be entred in the Register of the Council-Causes. And on the 6th of *January* the King by his Proclamation dissolved the Parliament.

Parliament dissolved.

Shewing that the meeting, continuing, and dissolving of Parliaments does so peculiarly belong to him, that he needs not give any account thereof to any other; yet he thought fit to declare, that in the Dissolution of this Parliament he had the Advice and uniform Consent of his whole Council; and that some particular Members of the Commons took inordinate Liberty, not only to treat of his High Prerogatives, *and sundry things not fit to be argued in Parliament, but also to speak with less respect of Foreign Princes: That they spent their time in disputing Privileges, and descanting upon the Words and Syllables of his Letters and Messages; and that these evil-temper'd Spirits, sowed Tares among the Corn, and by their Carriage have imposed upon him a necessity of discontinuing this present Parliament, without putting to it the Name or Period of a* Session. *And lastly, he declared, That tho' the Parliament were broken off, yet he intended to govern well, and shall be glad to lay hold on the first occasion to call another.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

A Continuation of this Reign to King James his Death.

THE first Act the King did to make good his Promise in his Proclamation *to govern well*, was, his Commitment of Sir *Edward Coke* and Sir *Robert Philips* to the Tower, and Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Mallery* to other Prisons; and Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *Thomas Crew*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, and Sir *James Parrot* into *Ireland*. Sir *Thomas Overbury* had a Cause assigned for his Commitment to the Tower, but yet it was observed an Hardship upon him, without any Precedent, that he should be confined a close Prisoner for a Contempt; whereas these were not only confined, but close Prisoners, (for ought I can find, I am well assured Sir *Edward Coke* was) not only without any Cause shewed, but for performing a publick Trust reposed in them. Nor did the Commons only suffer under this Fury of the King for performing their Duty, but the Noble Earl of *Southampton* was imprisoned for his freedom of Speech, and for rebuking *Buckingham* for his disorderly speaking in the House of Lords.

King commits several of the Members.

But of all others, this Storm fell most severely upon *Coke*, and by several ways his Ruin was contrived: First, By sealing up the Locks and Doors of his Chambers in *London*, and in the *Temple*. Secondly, By seizing his Papers, by virtue whereof, they took away his several Securities for Money, as a learned Lawyer, Mr. *Hawles*, hath observed. Thirdly, It was debated in Council, when the King would have brought in the *General Pardon*, containing such Points as he should think fittest, by what ways they might exclude him from the Benefit of it, either by preferring a Bill against him before the Publication of it, or by excepting him by Name. Fourthly, If the King's Name were used by *Northampton* or *Somerset* to confine Sir *Thomas Overbury* so close

A.D. 1622. cloſe that neither his Father nor Servants ſhould come at him; ſo was the King's Name uſed here, that none of Sir *Edward Coke's* Children or Servants ſhould come at him; and of this I am aſſured from one of Sir *Edward's* Sons and his Wife. Fifthly, In this Confinement, the King ſued him in the *King's-Bench* for 30000 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* for an old Debt pretended to be due from Sir *William Hatton* to Queen *Elizabeth*; and this was proſecuted by Sir *Henry Yelverton*, with all Severity imaginable: But herein the King's Counſel were not all of one Piece, for when a Brief againſt Sir *Edward* was brought to Sir *John Walter*, then Attorney-General, he returned it again with this Expreſſion, *Let my Tongue cleave to the Roof of my Mouth whenever I open it againſt Sir* Edward Coke; however, after the Trial, the Verdict was againſt the King.

Selden got his Liberty by the Favour of my Lord Keeper *Williams*; but the reſt muſt abide by it till the breaking of the *Spaniſh* Match neceſſitated the King to call another Parliament. But leſt the King's Word in his Proclamation for governing well ſhould not paſs currant, and without Diſpute, he ordered the Judges in their Circuits to give this in their Charges, That the King taking notice of the Peoples liberal ſpeaking of Matters far above their reach, and alſo taking Notice of their licentious, undutiful Speeches touching State and Government, notwithſtanding ſeveral Proclamations to the contrary, was reſolved no longer to paſs it without ſeverelt Puniſhment, and thereupon to do exemplary Juſtice where they find any ſuch Offenders.

King raiſes Money out of Parliament.

The King having in the Ninth Year of his Reign borrowed 111046 *l.* upon *Privy-Seals*, which the Writer of the Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt 14 Years of King *James* his Reign, ſays, were unrepay'd: Now, ſince he could receive no more Money in Parliament, orders the Privy-Council to iſſue out an Order for raiſing Money out of Parliament, for the Defence of the *Palatinate*; and alſo ſent Letters to the Juſtices of the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and Barons of the *Exchequer*, to move them, and perſwade others to a liberal Contribution, according to

their

their Qualities and Abilities: Nevertheleſs, if any Perſon ſhou'd, out of Obſtinacy or Diſaffection, refuſe to contribute thereto, proportionably to their Eſtates and Means, they were to certify their Names to the Council-Board. *A. Reg. 20.*

Letters to the ſame Effect were directed to the High-Sheriffs of Counties, and Juſtices of Peace, and to the Mayors and Bayliffs of every City and Corporation within the Kingdom, requiring them to ſummon all before them of known Abilities within their Juriſdictions, and to move them to a chearful Contribution, according to their Means and Fortunes, in ſome good Meaſure anſwerable to what others well affected had done before them: And to make choice of meet Collectors of the Monies, and to return a Schedule of the Names of ſuch as ſhould contribute, and the Sums that were offered by them; that his Majeſty may take notice of the good Inclinations of the Subjects to a Cauſe of ſuch Importance; as likewiſe of ſuch others, if any ſuch be, as out of Obſtinacy or Diſaffection ſhall refuſe to contribute. Theſe were the Ways which this pacifick King took in and out of Parliament, which I believe (except in the Reign of *Edward* the Fourth, were never practiſed by any of our *Engliſh* Kings; and all this under the ſpecious Pretence of recovering his Son-in-Law's Patrimony, prodigally to ſquander it among his Favourites, eſpecially *Buckinham*, whoſe Avarice could not be ſupported otherwiſe by the Revenues of the Crown, and Venality of all Places Sacred and Civil.

Theſe were the Noble Atchievements which this pacifick King obtained over his Parliament, which preſumed to adviſe him for his own Honour and the Nation's Safety; this was the Return he made for inverting the Methods of Proceedings in Parliament to pleaſure him, by granting Subſidies before Grievances were redreſt: A Prince foreign born to our *Engliſh* Laws and Conſtitutions; *A Prince*, as *Nani* obſerves, *in whom* Decorum, *and want of Power, were commonly Oppoſites; he being* Scotiſh *by Birth, and come to the Crown by Inheritance, was the firſt that governed the two Nations by Natural Antipathy, and ancient Emulation*

of

A.D. 1622. *of Enemies; and deſigning to reclaim the Fierceneſs of thoſe People with Eaſe and Idleneſs, had ſet up his Reſt in Peace; and avoiding, as much as poſſible, the calling of Parliaments, without which not having the Power to impoſe Contributions, nor levy Money, he contented himſelf rather to ſtruggle with many Straits and Difficulties, than to ſee them meet with a Jealouſy of them; or being met, be obliged to ſeparate them with the diſguſt of the People, or with the Satisfaction of Prejudice to the Superior in Power.* A Prince ſo poor before he came to the Crown of *England*, that if he had not been ſupported by the Penſion which Queen *Elizabeth* allowed him, could not have maintained the Garb of many of our *Engliſh* Gentry; and being come to the Crown of *England*, not only the Sacred Patrimony of it was ſquandered and embaraſſed upon debauch'd and profane Favourites, but the People, otherwiſe oppreſſed with almoſt infinite Monopolies and Projects, which the Nation never before heard of; and as they were new, ſo were they all illegal; and all theſe to make his Favourites rich, while he continued the pooreſt King that ever governed *England*: Joſtled in his Throne by the *Presbytery* in *Scotland*, yet nothing leſs than *Sacred* would down with him from the Clergy in *England*, tho' his diſſolute Life and profane Converſation were diametrically contrary.

Theſe, by a Twenty Years Habit, were ſo fixed in the King, a Prince of all others the moſt regardleſs of his Honour and Word, that they became natural: So that after the Parliament had given him two Subſidies, and intended another for carrying on the War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; and after he had by ſuch Terror raiſed Benevolences all *England* over, upon pretence of it; yet by the Advice of *Buckingham* and *Gundamor*, he placed the Anchor of his Hope to do it by the Match of his Son with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, when an unlooked for Accident had like to have ſpoiled all.

For the King of *Bohemia*, weary of being amuſed, and deluded with the Hopes of his Father-in-Law's Treaties, which he now ſaw were mocked by the *Spaniards* themſelves, in a Diſguiſe, with two Perſons only, from *Holland* paſſes into *France* by Sea, and from

from thence through *Lorrain*, and through the midſt of his Enemies Troops, arrives at *Landau*, where Count *Mansfield* (who then made War in the *Palatinate* in his Right) had a Garriſon, where he diſcovered himſelf, and from thence went to *Germerſheim*, where he was received with the general Applauſe of the whole Army. *A. Reg.* 20.

This Eſcape of the King's Son-in-Law confounded all the King's Meaſures which he had taken for him, by the Marriage of the *Infanta* with his Son, ſo that he was more alarm'd at it, than at the Commons Remonſtrance and Proteſtation, tho' he bore the Affliction with a much better Temper: So all Wits were ſet at work how to get the Elector out of the Hands of *Mansfield* back again into *Holland*; for now the Proceedings at *Bruſſels*, upon the Peace, were put to a full ſtop, the *Spaniards* alledging they could not proceed in the Treaty ſo long as the King's Son-in-Law was in the Hands of *Mansfield*, their moſt inveterate and bitter Enemy.

It fell out luckily for the King's Deſigns, tho' unluckily for his Son-in-Law's, that *Mansfield* being worſted by the *Spaniſh* Arms in the *Palatinate*, and the Elector *Palatine* fearing that *Mansfield* in the Adverſity of his Affairs would make him a Sacrifice, to render his own Terms the better, was the more eaſily enveagled by the King's Agents to return again into *Holland*, where the firſt News he heard was, that *Tilly* had taken *Heidelburg* by Storm, and *Frankendal* reduced to Extremity by *Cordua*; ſo that King *James*, who had publiſhed that his Son-in-Law held that Country under his Protection, was laugh'd at by all the World, and forced to conſent to a Truce for fifteen Months, during which *Frankendal*, and the reſt of the lower *Palatinate*, ſhould be depoſited into the *Spaniards* Hands, to reſtore them to the King, if within that Time there were not a Peace concluded. *Neglects his Son-in-Law.*

The King having thus depoſited his Son-in-Law's Patrimony in the Hands of the *Spaniards*; now by the Direction of *Buckingham* (not only the Dictator over the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but over the King himſelf, and 'twas feared more over the Prince) upon Pretence that the Earl of *Briſtol*

A.D.1622 *ſtol* was too remiſs in proſecuting the Prince's Suit at *Madrid*, reſolves to depoſite the Prince in the Power of the Court of *Spain*, there to remain as an Hoſtage till he can procure the *Infanta* to be his Spouſe.

This was ſuch an Adventure, as *Don Quixot* never dream'd of, that becauſe the King, the Prince his Father, was poor at Home, and deſpiſed Abroad, therefore by making his only Son an Hoſtage in another King's Court, where the Maxims both of Religion and State were directly contrary, he ſhould think to perſwade the King of *Spain* to overturn all, and alſo get ſuch a Portion as was fourfold more than any Prince before had, to enrich himſelf, and to make War againſt the King of *Spain*, or Emperor, which the *Spaniard* eſteemed all as one; and alſo that the King of *Spain* ſhould reſtore the *Palatinate*, becauſe the King knew not which way elſe to do it: Yet this Adventure muſt be run, becauſe *Buckingham* would have it ſo; ſo pur-blind, nay, ſtark-blind, does Poverty and Covetouſneſs make Man's Underſtanding and Reaſon.

Deſpiſed Abroad. But that we may take all before us, let's ſee in what Eſteem King *James* was with the *Spaniards*, which might encourage him to purſue this Adventure. *In their Comedies in* Flanders, *they imitated Meſſengers bringing News in haſte, that the* Palatinate *was likely to have a numerous Army ſhortly on foot: For the King of* Denmark *would ſhortly furniſh them with a Thouſand* Pickl'd-Herrings, *the* Hollanders *with one hundred thouſand* Butter-Boxes, *and* England *with one hundred thouſand* Ambaſſadors: *They pictured King* James *in one Place, with a Scabbard without a Sword; in another, with a Sword which no Body could draw out, tho' divers Perſons ſtood pulling at it: In* Bruſſels *they painted him with his Pockets hanging out, and not one Penny in them, and his Purſe turned upſide down: In* Antwerp *they pictured the Queen of* Bohemia *like a poor* Iriſh *Mantler, with her Hair hanging about her Ears, with her Child at her Back, and the King* (James) *carrying the Cradle after her; and every one of the Pictures had ſeveral* Motto's, *expreſſing their Malice.* Such Scorns and Contempts were put upon the King (*James*) and in him the whole Nation.

But

But tho' *Buckingham* purſued this Match with ſuch Eagerneſs, yet when it came to his Management in *Spain*, where the King's Proclamations forbidding Men to talk of *State-Affairs*, had no effect, he proceeded wrong in every Step of it; and to gratify his Ambition and Perſonal Diſguſts, was the firſt and principal Inſtrument to break it off; but that we may not inſiſt upon Generals; *A. Reg. 20.*

1. The Prince's coming to *Spain*, and thereby putting himſelf into the King of *Spain*'s Power, brake all the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Meaſures, whereupon the Negotiation, and all the Particulars of the Marriage was ſettled, and the Negotiation was put into a new Form, See *Ruſhw. Collect.* fol. 286. *Obſervations about the Prince's going into Spain; and the Charge againſt Briſtol.*

Objection. *This was but a Charge by the Earl of* Briſtol *againſt the Duke, who proſecuted the Earl of* High Miſdemeanors, *and therefore no Proof againſt the Duke.*

Anſwer. Yet the Honour of ſo great a Stateſman, and faithful a Counſellor as the Earl was, who had ſo honourably ſerved the King in ſeven Foreign Embaſſies, and had by the Expence of 10000 *l.* ſaved *Heidelburg* from falling into the Hands of the *Spaniard*; and having, upon the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, given the King 500 *l.* upon the Benevolence, and never received a Check from the King in all his Negotiations, but always honourable Teſtimonies from him for his faithful Services, before *Buckingham* broke in upon him, may go a great way.

But it ſeems to me to be a clear Proof upon *Buckingham*, for *Briſtol* twice anſwered Articles preferred againſt him, without any Reply; whereas, rather than *Buckingham* ſhould anſwer *Briſtol*'s Charge, King (*Charles*) diſſolved his ſecond Parliament.

2. *Buckingham* had not learned the Verſe which is taught to every School-Boy, *Quum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito more*; for being *French* bred, he appeared in a *French* Garb (moſt hateful to the *Spaniards*) and by his Familiarity with the Prince, he ſeemed rather the Prince's Guardian and Companion, than Follower, which diſreliſhed the Court of *Spain*,

A.D. 1622. *Spain*, and the *Spaniards* in general, who are grave, ſober and wary.

3. He by contrary Methods oppoſed all the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Methods, nay, fell at Odds with him, tho', without Compariſon, he was the ableſt Stateſman in all King *James* his Councils.

4. Whereas all other Ambaſſadors and Stateſmen, in all great Affairs, make their Court to the King's Council, and prime Miniſters of State, to attain their Ends, *Buckingham* fell at open Defiance with *Olivares* (prime Miniſter of State in *Spain*) and 'twas generally ſaid, made his Court to the Counteſs, which ſhe acquainted her Husband with, and inſtead of the Counteſs, put a tainted Whore to Bed with him.

5. The Earl of *Briſtol* in the 9th Article of his Charge againſt him, ſhews what a Scandal *Buckingham* gave by his Perſonal Behaviour in *Spain*; and alſo employing his Power with the King of *Spain* for procuring Favours and Offices, which he beſtowed upon baſe and unworthy Perſons, for the Recompence and Hire of his Luſt. Theſe Things as fit neither for the Earl of *Briſtol* to ſpeak, nor the Lords to hear, he left to their Lordſhips Wiſdom, how far they pleaſe to have them examined: It having been a great Infamy to this Nation, that a Perſon of the Duke's great Quality and Employments, a Privy-Counſellor, and Ambaſſador, eminent in his Majeſty's Favour, and ſolely in Truſt with the Prince, ſhould leave behind him in a Foreign Court ſo much Scandal as he did by his ill Behaviour.

6. The Earl of *Briſtol*'s ſixth Article againſt *Buckingham* is, That his Behaviour in *Spain* was ſuch, that he thereby ſo incenſed the King of *Spain* and his Miniſters, that they would admit of no Reconciliation, nor farther Dealings with him: Whereupon he ſeeing that the ſaid Match would be to his Prejudice, he endeavoured to break it, not for any Service to the Kingdom, nor of the Match it ſelf, nor for that he had found (as ſince he pretended) the *Spaniards* did not really intend the ſaid Match, but out of his particular Ends and Indignation: And the 7th Article ſays,

7. That

7. That after he intended to croſs the ſaid Match, he put in practice divers undue Courſes, as making uſe of the Prince's Letters to his own Ends, and not as they were intended; as likewiſe of concealing Things of high Importance to the King (*James*) and thereby to overthrow the King's Purpoſes, and advance his own Ends. *A. Reg.* 20.

Nor had my Lord Keeper *Williams* any better luck in this Adventure of *Buckingham*'s, than the Earl of *Briſtol* or *Olivares*; for tho' the Prince's going into *Spain* was concealed from the Keeper as well as Council, yet after the Duke was gone, the Keeper's Letters followed him to *Madrid*, wherein the Keeper adviſed him to be circumſpect in all his Actions, that no Offence might be taken at any of them by the King and Miniſters of *Spain*, and to be adviſed by the Earl of *Briſtol*, not only as a moſt able Stateſman, but above all others, the moſt experienced in the Manners of the *Spaniards* and Court of *Spain*: but this *Buckingham* took as ill Manners in the Keeper, and was an occaſion of his quarrelling with him.

But neither the Danger of the Prince in *Spain*, nor the croſs-grain'd going of the Match, any way abated the King's Favour to his beloved Scholar and Diſciple *Buckingham*; but he ſent after him the Patent of being created a Duke, there being not another of *England*: So that now he is become Duke, Marquels, and Earl of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Coventry*, Viſcount *Villiers*, Baron of *Whaddon*, Great Admiral of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Principality of *Wales*, and of the Dominions and Iſlands of the ſame, of the Town of *Calais*, and of the Marches of the ſame, and of *Normandy*, *Gaſcoign* and *Guienne*, General Governour of the Seas and Ships of the Kingdom, Maſter of the Horſe to the King, Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, and of the Members of the ſame; Conſtable of *Dover-Caſtle*, Juſtice in Eyre of all the Foreſts and Chaſes on this ſide of *Trent*, Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Windſor*, Gentleman of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber, one of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council in his Realms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and Knight of the moſt Honourable Order of the Garter.

A.D.1622 But tho' all others worſhipped this prodigious Favourite, yet Archbiſhop *Abbot* (a Prelate of Primitive Sanctity and Integrity) would not flatter neither the King nor his Favourite in their Courſes, ſo dangerous to the Church and State, and diſhonourable to the King; and, tho' in Diſgrace, he wrote this following Letter to the King, which you may read in *Ruſhworth*, fol. 85.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

" I Have been too long ſilent, and am afraid by my " Silence I have neglected the Duty of the Place " it has pleaſed God to call me unto, and your Ma- " jeſty to place me in: But now I humbly crave " leave I may diſcharge my Conſcience towards God, " and my Duty to your Majeſty; and therefore free- " ly to give me leave to deliver my ſelf, and then let " your Majeſty do what you pleaſe. Your Majeſty " hath propounded a Toleration of Religion; I be- " ſeech you to take into your Conſideration, what " that Act is, what the Conſequence may be: By " your Act you labour to ſet up the moſt Damnable " and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, " the Whore of *Babylon*: How hateful will it be to " God, and grievous to your Subjects, the Profeſ- " ſors of the Goſpel, that your Majeſty, who hath " ſo often and learnedly diſputed and written againſt " thoſe Hereſies, ſhould now ſhew your ſelf a Pa- " tron of thoſe wicked Doctrines, which your Pen " hath to the World, and your Conſcience tells your " ſelf, are ſuperſtitious, idolatrous and deteſtable? " And hereto I add what you have done by ſending " the Prince into *Spain*, without the Conſent of your " Council, the Privity or Approbation of your Peo- " ple; and altho' you have a Charge and Intereſt in " the Prince, as the Son of your Fleſh, yet the Peo- " ple have a greater, as Son of the Kingdom, upon " whom, next after your Majeſty, are their Eyes " fixed, and their Welfare depends; and ſo tender- " ly is his going apprehended (as I believe) however " his Return may be ſafe; yet the Drawers of him " into this Action, ſo dangerous to himſelf, ſo deſpe- " rate to the Kingdom, will not paſs away unque- " ſtioned

" ſtioned and unpuniſhed. Beſides, the Toleration A. Reg. 20.
" which you endeavour to ſet up by your Proclama-
" tion, cannot be without a Parliament, unleſs your
" Majeſty will let your Subjects ſee that you will take
" to your ſelf the Ability to throw down the Laws
" of the Land at your Pleaſure. What dread Conſe-
" quence theſe things may draw afterwards, I be-
" ſeech your Majeſty to conſider, and above all,
" leſt by this Toleration and diſcountenancing the
" true Profeſſion of the Goſpel, wherewith God
" hath bleſt us, and this Kingdom hath ſo long flou-
" riſhed under it, your Majeſty doth not draw up-
" on this Kingdom in general, and your ſelf in par-
" ticular, God's Wrath and Indignation.

I have heard my Father ſay, that King *James* kept a Fool called *Archy* (if he were not more Knave) whom the Courtiers, when the King was at any time thoughtful or ſerious, would bring in with his Antick Geſtures and Sayings, to put him out of it. In one of theſe Moods of the King, in comes *Archy*, and tells the King he muſt change Caps with him; Why? ſays the King: Why who, replies *Archy*, ſent the Prince into *Spain*? But what, ſaid the King, wilt thou ſay, if the Prince comes back again? Why then, ſaid *Archy*, I will take my Cap from thy Head, and ſend it to the King of *Spain*: which was ſaid troubled the King ſore.

But if we look back into *Spain*, we ſhall ſee things of another Complection than when *Buckingham* came into it: For now he is diſguſted, he puts the Prince quite out of the Match, as that tho' all things were agreed, upon the coming of the Diſpenſation from *Rome*, ſo as King *James* ſaid all the Devils in Hell could not break the Match (yet his Diſciple and Scholar could) tho' the Duke had certified the King, the Match was brought to a happy Concluſion, and the Match publickly declared in *Spain*, and the Prince permitted Acceſs to the *Infanta* in the Preſence of the King, and the *Infanta* was generally ſtiled the Princeſs of *England*; and in *England* a Chapel was building for her at St. *James*'s; and the King had prepared a Fleet, to fetch her, which only proved to bring back his Son.

A.D.1622 How things (eſpecially actuated by Love) ſhould ſtay here, may ſeem ſtrange; yet ſuch an Aſcendant had *Buckingham* over the Prince, that the Affront put upon him muſt quite deface the Prince's vowed Love and Affection to the *Infanta*; but how to prevail with King *James* to comply, might have an appearance of ſome Difficulty, ſince the King had ſet his Reſt upon it, and had quarrelled with the Parliament, and diſſolved them in great Anger and Fury for but mentioning it. After the Duke had gained the Prince to break, or at leaſt not to obſerve the Conditions of the Treaty of Marriage with the *Infanta*, ſo ſolemnly ſworn to by both the Kings and the Prince; let's now ſee how he behaved himſelf to King *James* afterwards: but this will be better underſtood if we look back, and ſee how things ſtood before the Prince's and Duke's Arrival in *Spain*.

The Prince's going into *Spain*, was not only kept ſecret from King *James*'s Council, but from my Lord Keeper *Williams*, tho' the King confided in his Abilities above all the other of his Council: but when it had taken vent, the King asked him what he thought, *Whether the Knight Errant's Pilgrimage would prove lucky to win the* Spaniſh *Lady, and to convey her ſhortly into* England? *Sir*, anſwered the Lord Keeper, *If my Lord Marqueſs will give Honour to* Conde *Duke* Olivares, *and remember he is the Favourite of* Spain: *or if* Olivares *will ſhew honourable Civility to my Lord Marqueſs, remembering he is a Favourite of* England, *the Wooing may be proſperous: but if my Lord Marqueſs ſhould forget where he is, and not ſtoop to* Olivares; *or if* Olivares, *forgetting what Gueſt he hath received with the Prince, bear himſelf haughtily, and like a* Caſtilian *to my Lord Marqueſs, the Provocation may be dangerous to croſs your Majeſty's good Intentions; and I pray God that either one or both do not run into that Error.*

The Anſwer of the Keeper took ſuch Impreſſion upon the King, that he asked the Keeper, if he had wrote to his Son and the Marqueſs clearly, and upon what Guard he ſhould ſtand? *Yes*, ſaid the Keeper, *and to that purpoſe I have diſpatched ſome Packquets: Then continue*, ſays the King, *to help me And them*

them in thoſe Difficulties, with your beſt Powers and Abilities, and ſerve me faithfully in this Motion, which, like the higheſt Orb, carries all my Raccalta's, my Counſels at preſent, and Proſpects upon the future with it, and I will never part with you. A. Reg. 20.

The Keeper hereupon continues to proſecute this Advice to the Duke, but hereby loſt his Favour, who ever after ſought all means to ruin him, which tho' he could not effect in King *James* Reign, he did it in the firſt of his Son's. But when the King underſtood, that the Contraventions of the Duke with *Olivares* and *Briſtol* was like to make a Rupture in the Treaty, he then began ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf the fickle State he ſtood in both at Home and Abroad, if the Marriage ſucceeded not; all the two Subſidies he had granted him by the Parliament, and the Benevolence he had raiſed after upon his Subjects by his own Authority, was expended, and a great Debt contracted beſides; he alſo, beſides the Benevolence, ſtood upon ill Terms with his Subjects, for petitioning him againſt the *Spaniſh* Match, and aſſerting their Privileges, by impriſoning them after he had diſſolved the Parliament, the like whereof was never before done by any of his Predeceſſors: and now *Buckingham* had ſo violently cauſed a Rupture of the Match, wherein he placed his ſole Felicity, he had not Courage ſo much as to frown upon him, who could contribute no Relief, whereas he diſſolved the Parliament, and impriſon'd the Members upon their Advice againſt the Match, who could have relieved him in his Neceſſities; beſides, he now ſaw that *Buckingham*, by his Audacity, more worſhipped the Sun in its Riſe than in its Declination: Now did he not know to whom he ſhould complain, nor was there any about him but the Keeper who durſt give him any Advice. Buckingham *breaks off the* Spaniſh *Match.*

In caſe a Rupture happened, the King, after all this wild Expence of Foreign Embaſſies, and the Charge of his Son's Voyage, would be deſpiſed by all Foreign Princes and States, in caſe he did not endeavour to recover his Son-in-law's Patrimony, which would, in all appearance, bring on a War between

A.D.1622 him and the Emperor, and King of *Spain*, who kept nothing from him, and therefore had no cauſe to make War upon either.

Beſides, in caſe the King made War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, he could not hope to do it upon his own ſingle Account, but in Conjunction with Foreign Confederates, and above all with the States of the *United Netherlands* (who now had renewed the War againſt the King of *Spain*, the Truce made between them and the King of *Spain* in 1609, being expired.) But how unjuſt would this be, for the King to make War upon the Emperor, and King of *Spain*, who kept nothing from him, and join with the *Dutch* herein, who, againſt the Treaty made between the King and them but three Years before, *viz.* in 1619, kept from the King and his Subjects the Iſles of *Amboyna*, *Seron*, *Nero*, *Waire*, *Roſingen*, *Latro*, *Cambello*, *Mitto*, *Larica*, *Lantare*, *Polaway* and *Machaſſer* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and *Cabo de Bon Eſperanza* in *Africk*. But the Impolicy of ſuch an Alliance would be as great as the Injuſtice of it, for hereby the *Engliſh* muſt loſe the Benefit of the *Spaniſh* Trade, which above all others enriched the Nation, and the King his Cuſtoms, which above any other did ariſe from it. Theſe Conſiderations fixed in the King's Mind, fearful of any War, ſo cleft his Heart, That, as the Biſhop of *Litchfield* obſerves, *he effected neither, yet he ſubmitted himſelf to be ruled by ſome, whom he ſhould have awed by his Authority, but wanted Courage to bow them to his Bent. A Prince that preſerves not the Rights of his Dignity, and the Majeſty of his Throne, is a Servant to ſome, but a Friend to none, and leaſt to himſelf.*

King diſpleaſed with Buckingham.

In theſe Perplexities the King ſaw no viſible Means under Heaven to relieve him, but by cloſing with his next Parliament; nor was there any likelihood that any Man's Incolumity, tho' it were his Grace himſelf, ſhould cauſe an unkind Breach between him and his People. This Reſolution was not concealed from a Cabinet, or Cabal of the Duke's which met at *Wallingford* Houſe, who hereupon ſet up to conſider what Exploit the Duke ſhould commence to be the Darling of the Commons,

mons, and as it were to republicate his Lordſhip, and to be precious to thoſe who had the Vogue to be the chief Lovers of their Country; and reſolve that all Attempts would be in vain, unleſs the Treaty of the *Spaniſh* Match were quaſh'd, and that the Breach thereof ſhould fall upon the Duke's Induſtry; ſo that what the Duke did before in ſpite to *Olivares* and *Briſtol*, he now purſues for his own Safety, tho' the King had little reaſon to thank him for it. And this took ſuch Impreſſion in the Duke, that the Biſhop heard the Duke afterward in the Banqueting-Houſe, before the King and both Houſes of Parliament, aſcribe to himſelf the ſole Glory of breaking the *Spaniſh* Match; and you will ſoon ſee how the Prince and Duke after their return from *Spain* over-awed the King, and made his Authority bow to their Bent: for notwithſtanding *Buckingham* blaſted all the *Raccalta*'s of his Councils, and the Proſpect of his future Happineſs placed in the *Spaniſh* Match, yet he ſhall become the Duke's Advocate herein, and note his Fidelity, Conſtancy and Conduct in breaking it off; and from his Diſciple become his Maſter, and teach him, that *Doloſus verſatur in Generalibus*, and alſo keep back the Earl of *Briſtol* from coming to the Parliament, that he might not ſpoil the fine Tale the Duke had told; yet at other times the King would ſay, *If he had ſent* Williams *into* Spain *with his Son, he had kept Heart-eaſe and Honour both, which he lacked.* *A. Rer.* 20.

The Duke thus doubly engaged, reſolved to break the *Spaniſh* Match; and to diſpoſe the King to it, the Prince writes to him, *That he muſt look upon his Siſter (the Queen of* Bohemia*) and her Children, never thinking more of him, and forgetting he ever had ſuch a Son.* Though it be evident the *Spaniards* were far enough from entertaining ſuch a Thought, however *Buckingham*'s Behaviour might have prompted them to it, that they entertained him with all imaginable Eſteem, as a truly noble, diſcreet and well-deſerving Prince; however the Prince himſelf had given them Cauſe ſufficient to have detained him, if the Prudence of *Briſtol* had not been greater than *Buckingham*'s Raſhneſs and Zeal to break off the Match, ſolemnly

A.D. 1622 ly ſworn to by the Prince and *Buckingham* himſelf, and this upon the Day when the Prince parted from the King of *Spain* from the *Eſcurial*.

For though the King of *Spain* and the Prince had ſolemnly ſworn to accompliſh the Marriage, and to make the Eſpouſals within ten Days after the Ratifications ſhould come from *Rome*, to which purpoſe the Prince made a *Procuration* to the King of *Spain*, and *Don Carlos* his Brother, to make the Eſpouſals in his Name, and left it in *Briſtol's* Hands; yet he left in the Hands of one of the Duke's Creatures, Mr. *Edward Clarke*, a private Inſtrument, with Inſtructions to the Earl, to ſtay the Delivery of the *Proxies* till farther Direction from him. But when this private Inſtrument was delivered to *Briſtol*, he told *Buckingham's* Favourite that it muſt for a time be concealed, leſt the *Spaniard* coming to the Knowledge of it, ſhould give Order to ſtay the Prince. So that the Duke left the Earl's Inſtrument as perplexed and confounded when he went out of *Spain*, as he had made the Treaty of Marriage when he came into it.

The Temper and Diſſimulation of the Duke is ſo ſtrange at his taking leave of *Olivares*, as is I believe without all Example, and alſo without any Care of the Safety of the Prince; for the Duke told him, after he had delivered the Inſtrument to ſtay the Delivery of the *Proxy*, That he was obliged to the King and Queen, and *Infanta*, in an eternal Tie of Gratitude, and that he would be an everlaſting Servant to them, and endeavour to do the beſt Offices for concluding the Match, and ſtrengthening the Amity between the two Crowns; but as for himſelf he had ſo diſobliged him, that he could not without Flattery, make the leaſt Profeſſion of Friendſhip to him.

Nor was the Ingratitude and Diſſimulation of the Prince leſs than that of *Buckingham*; for when the King of *Spain* had brought the Prince to the *Eſcurial*, where the Prince and Duke (after the delivery of the Inſtrument for ſtaying the Proxy) ſolemnly ſwore the Treaty of Marriage, and the King and Prince had ſworn a perpetual League of Friendſhip, the

King

King at their Departure declared the Obligation which the Prince had put upon him, by putting himſelf into his Hands, a thing unuſual with Princes, and proteſted he earneſtly deſired a nearer Conjunction of Brotherly Affection, for the more intire Unity between them. The Prince anſwered him, magnifying the high Favour which he had found during his Stay in his Court and Preſence, which had begotten ſuch an Eſtimation of his Worth, that he knew not how to value it, but would leave a *Mediatrix* to ſupply his own Defects, if he would make him ſo happy, as to continue him in the good Opinion of her his dear Miſtreſs. Yet the Prince ſo ſoon as he came on Ship-board, was obſerved to ſay, *That it was a great Weakneſs and Folly in the* Spaniards, *after they had uſed him ſo ill, to grant him a free Departure.* *A. Reg.* 20.

Having thus taken a View of the Duke's Prudence and deep inſight in Myſteries of State in managing this Match, where King *James*'s Proclamation could not reſtrain Men from talking of State-Affairs: We will now take a View of the Duke's Profeſſion in Religion, that another may better judge, whether he were more eminent in Religion or *State* Policy; and herein I will take *Briſtol*'s Charge upon him to be a full Proof, ſince the Earl anſwered the Duke's Charges againſt him twice, firſt before King *James*, and afterward in Parliament in the 2d of King *Charles*, without any reply; and King *Charles*'s diſſolving the Parliament, rather than the Duke ſhould come to a Tryal upon the Articles which the Earl exhibited againſt him.

Briſtol's Arguments against Buckingham.

1. The Earl, in the ſaid Articles, charges the Duke, that he did ſecretly combine with the *Conde* of *Gundamor* Ambaſſador from the King of *Spain*, *Anno* 1622, to carry the Prince into *Spain*, to the end he might be informed in the *Roman* Religion, and thereby have perverted the Prince, and ſubverted the true Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*.

2. That Mr. *Porter* was made acquainted therewith, and ſent into *Spain*, and ſuch Meſſages at his Return framed, as might ſerve for a Ground to ſet on foot this Conſpiracy; the which was done accordingly,

A. D. 1622 cordingly, and thereby the King and Prince highly abuſed, and their Conſents thereby gotten for the ſaid Journey, *viz.* after the Return of the ſaid Mr. *Porter*, which was about the latter end of *December* or beginning of *January*, 1622. whereas the Duke plotted it many Months before.

3. That the Duke at his Arrival in *Spain*, nouriſhed the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, not only in the Belief of his being Popiſhly affected, but did (both by abſenting himſelf from all Exerciſes of Religion conſtantly uſed in the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Houſe, and frequented by all other Proteſtant *Engliſh*, and by conforming himſelf to pleaſe the *Spaniards* in divers Rites of their Religion, even ſo far as to kneel and adore the Sacrament) from time to time give the *Spaniards* Hopes of the Prince's Converſion, the which he endeavoured to procure by all means poſſible; and thereby cauſed the *Spaniſh* Miniſter to propound far worſe Conditions for Religion than had been propounded by the Earl and Sir *Walter Aſhton*, ſettled and ſigned under the King and Prince's Hand, with a Clauſe to the King of *Spain*'s Anſwer, *December* 12, 1622, that they held the Articles agreed on ſufficient, and ſuch as ought to induce the Pope to grant the Diſpenſation.

4. That the Duke having ſeveral times moved and preſſed the King, at the Inſtance of the *Conde* of *Gundamor*, in the Preſence of the Earl of *Briſtol*, to write a Letter to the Pope, and to that purpoſe having once brought a Letter ready drawn, wherewith the Earl of *Briſtol* by his Majeſty being made acquainted, did ſo ſtrongly oppoſe the writing any ſuch Letter, that during the Abode of the ſaid Earl in *England*, the Duke could never obtain it; but not long after the Earl was gone, he (the Duke) procured ſuch a Letter to be written from the King (*James*) to the Pope, and to have him ſtiled *Sanctiſſime Pater*.

5. That the Pope being informed of the Duke's Inclination and Intention in point of Religion, ſent unto him a particular *Bull* in Parchment, for to perſwade and encourage him in the Perverſion of the Prince.

But

But how ſteady ſoever the Duke was in his *French* Garb in *Spain*, and of Compliance with the *Spaniard* in the Popiſh Religion; yet he was not ſo when he came to *England*, for then he turns quite contrary, and aſſumes a popular Way, and joins with the Prince, and thereby over-ruled the King as they pleaſed, and cloſed with the Nobility, and *Puritan* Party, oppoſite to *Spain*. Nor was the Duke's Covetouſneſs and ſacrilegious Deſires of robbing the Church's Patrimony, leſs than his Hypocriſy in Religion; for whilſt he was in this Godly Fit, he treats with Dr. *John Preſton* (Head of the Puritan Party) how the King might ſeize the Dean and Chapter Lands. *A. Reg.* 20.

After the Return of the Prince and Duke into *England*, and *Briſtol* left in *Spain*, both contrive how to ruin the Earl of *Briſtol*, bound up with contrary Inſtructions; and to diſſolve the Prince's Match with the *Infanta*, ſo ſolemnly ſworn by both Kings, and the Prince; and could find no other Pretence to do it, but by the King's Letter to the Earl of *Briſtol*, before he delivered the Powers for conſummating the Marriage, to procure from the King of *Spain*, either by publick Act or under his Hand and Seal, a direct Engagement for the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* and Electoral Dignity, by Mediation or Aſſiſtance of Arms; but in regard this muſt be now inſiſted upon, let's ſee how this ſtood during the Treaty.

In all the Treaty for this Match, the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* was laid aſide, and my Lord of *Briſtol* in his Defence againſt the Duke's or King's Charge, ſays, that his Inſtructions from King *James*, the 14th of *March* 1621, were expreſs, that he ſhould not make the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* a Condition of the Marriage; and that of the King's of the 30th of *December* 1623, were fully to the ſame Effect: But now the whole Treaty which was ſo ſolemnly agreed upon and ſworn to by both Kings and the Prince, and that the Marriage ſhould be conſummate within ten Days after the Diſpenſation came from *Rome*, which it did about the beginning of *December* 1623, muſt be all daſh'd without the Reſtitution of the *Palatine* to his Country and Electo-

ral

*A.D.*1622 ral Dignity, which being perplext with ſuch Variety of Intereſts, as the Duke of *Bavaria*'s having poſſeſt himſelf of the Upper *Palatinate*; and the Reſtitution of the *Palſgrave*, being an Act of the Emperor and Empire, was not in the King of *Spain*'s Power: Nay, the *Proxies* left with the Earl, would not admit of a Treaty in this Caſe, for the Marriage was to be conſummate within ten Days after the Arrival of the Diſpenſation from *Rome*.

Briſtol, for not obtaining theſe new, impoſſible and inconſiſtable Conditions, is recalled from his Embaſſy, and a new Treaty of Marriage between the Prince and the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, youngeſt Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, is as ſuddenly ſet on Foot, as that of *Spain* abruptly broke off; and that by this time the King of *Spain* and the Earl had frequent Advice of the Prince and Duke's Deſigns to ruin the Earl. The King of *Spain* therefore made a threefold Proffer to the Earl, either to write to the King, and if need were to ſend a particular Ambaſſador, to mediate for him, to ſatisfy the Earl's Fidelity and Exactneſs in all the Treaty; or to make him a Blank wherein the Earl ſhould ſet down his own Conditions both in Title and Honour in *Spain*: whereunto the Earl anſwered, He was ſorry and afflicted to hear ſuch Language, and deſired they ſhould underſtand, that neither the King, nor *Spain*, were beholden to him; for whatever he had done, he thought fit to do for his Maſter's Service, and his own Honour, having no Relation to *Spain*; and that he ſerved a Maſter, from whom he was aſſured both of Juſtice and due Reward; nothing doubting but his own Innocence would prevail againſt the Wrong intended by his powerful Adverſaries; and were he ſure to run into imminent Danger, he had rather go Home and caſt himſelf at his Majeſty's Feet and Mercy, and therein comply with the Duty and Honour of a faithful Subject, though it ſhould coſt him his Head, than be Duke, or *Infantado* of *Spain*; and that with this Reſolution, he would employ the utmoſt of his Power to maintain the Amity of the two Crowns, and to ſerve his Catholick Majeſty: And, thirdly, the King of *Spain* deſired him in pri-

vate

vate to take 10000 Crowns to bear his Charges; but the Earl anſwered, one would know it, *viz.* the Earl of *Briſtol*, who would reveal it to his Majeſty. Now if any Man can ſhew in any Authority ancient or modern, wherein a Treaty of this Nature was thus begun, thus managed, and thus broken off; wherein a Noble Lady of higheſt Birth and nobleſt Fortune, adorned with all the Excellencies of Beauty in her Perſon, and the more excelling Virtues of her Mind, in all the Perfections requiſite in her Sex, was thus baulkt, and ſee her ſelf made a Stale, to advance the Avarice and covetous Deſires of others, he ſhall be my great *Apollo*. *A. Reg.* 20.

In the Year 1619, King *James*, and the *Dutch* States, entred into, and concluded a Treaty of Trade between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; at this time, and for many Years before, the *Engliſh* had at *Amboyna* (one of the *Scyndæ*, or *Setibe* Iſlands lying near *Seran*, which had ſeveral ſmaller Iſlands depending upon it) five ſeveral Factories, two at *Hitto* and *Lerico*, and two at *Latro* and *Cambello*, in the Iſland of *Seran*, but the principal of them was at *Amboyna*: *Amboyna* was, and is the principal Place in all the *Eaſt-Indies*, where Nutmegs, Mace, Cinamon, Cloves and Spice grow; and from theſe Factories the *Engliſh* ſupplied, not only *England* and *Europe* with Spice, but *Perſia*, *Japan*, and other Countries in the *Eaſt-Indies*. Dutch *ſeize* Amboyna.

The Treaty of Commerce between the King and the *Dutch* States, was ſcarce three Years old, when the *Dutch*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, contrive how they may diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* of the Spice Trade, which above all others, is the beſt in the *Eaſt-Indies*, at leaſt which was then, or now is known. *It ſeems*, ſays *William de Britain*, *that the* Engliſh *in all theſe Iſlands were better beloved than the* Dutch, *and had built a Fortreſs in* Amboyna *for the Safety of Trade, which, the* Dutch *having two hundred Soldiers there, forced from the* Engliſh; *and thereupon feigning a Plot between the* Engliſh *and* Japoneſſes, (I think he means the Natives of *Amboyna*) *to betray the Fortreſs again to the* Engliſh, *the* Dutch *with Fire and Water in an horrible manner, maſſacred many* Engliſh, *and ſeized upon the* Engliſh

Factories

A.D.1622 *Factories there to the Value of four hundred thouſand Pounds, and made the reſt of the* Engliſh *Slaves, and ſent them into other Iſlands, which the* Dutch *had poſſeſſed themſelves of:* This was in the Year 1622.

Nor did the *Dutch* ſtay here, but ſeized upon the *Engliſh* Factories in *Seran*, *Nero*, *Waire*, *Roſingen*, *Latro*, *Cambello*, *Hitto*, *Larica*, *Lantare*, and *Poloroone*, poſſeſſing themſelves of their Goods and Factories there, and took 1800 *Engliſh*, which they ſent into other Iſlands and Plantations, which they had forced from the *Indians*.

Let's ſee now how highly King *James* reſented theſe things; he only ſent to the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, and told him, *He never heard, nor read a more cruel and impious Act than that of* Amboyna: *But I do forgive them, and I hope God will, but my Son's Son ſhall revenge this Blood, and puniſh this horrid Maſſacre*; nor never further vindicated his own Honour, or his Subjects Blood, and loſs of their Goods and Trade herein. Whereas about a Year before, when he heard of the Commons horrid Invaſion upon his Prerogative, by aſſerting their Rights and Privileges; in a Fury he diſſolves the Parliament, and ſick as he was, (or ſeemed to be) to the indangering of his Health, he came in a hurry from *Theobalds*, called his Council and Judges about him, and *propria Manu* cut the Commons Proteſtation out of their Journal-Book, and committed many of their Members cloſe Priſoners without *Bail* or *Main-prize*, and baniſhed others.

That we may take a better View of the latter end of this Reign, and the following one of King *Charles*, it will be convenient to look into *Holland*; and herein obſerve, That *Barnevelt* and the *Dutch* States, after they had retrieved their Cautionary Towns from King *James*, *Barnevelt*, aſſiſted by *Hugo Grotius*, nouriſhed a Faction in *Holland*, called the *Arminian*, from *Arminius*, who maintained five Heads, contrary to what *Calvin* had taught in his Inſtitutions, which was the Doctrine of the Church ſet up in *Holland*, and the other *United Provinces*. By this Faction thus countenanced by *Barnevelt* and *Grotius*, they endeavoured to have depoſed *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, State-holder,

holder, tho' he, and his Father and Uncles were the principal Inſtruments, whereby the *Dutch* became States. But *Maurice* proved too hard for them, and cut off *Barnevelt*'s Head, and had hanged *Grotius*, if his Wife had not conveyed him away in a great Cheſt, pretending it contained *Arminian* Books: This was in the Year 1620. *A. Reg.* 20.

Tho' *Barnevelt* and *Grotius* propagated the *Arminian* Tenets to have depoſed the Prince of *Orange*, and advanced their Democratical Government, yet the Churchmen of *England*, who preached the King's abſolute Power, and exalted his divided Will from the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation, above his Royal Will in Governing by them, promoted theſe Tenets; and thoſe that oppoſed them were ſtiled *Puritans*.

The principal Stickler herein was Dr. *William Laud*, a Man of a moſt turbulent and aſpiring Diſpoſition; and one of the firſt Acts for which he was taken notice of, was, to marry the Earl of *Devonſhire* to the Lady *Rich*, (Mother to *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Henry* Earl of *Holland*) when her Husband was alive; but this was ſo far from advancing him, that the King was highly incenſed againſt him for it. *The Riſe of Dr. Laud.*

Yet *Laud*'s aſpiring Humour could not contain him in a private State, but follow the Court he would, yet could never arrive higher than to be one of the King's Chaplains, by means whereof he ſometimes got the King's Ear. The King hated the *Presbyterian* Government, and had got the Biſhops in *Scotland* to be re-ordained by three of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, as a *diſtinct Order*, which the Kirk in *Scotland* took for an abominable Uſurpation over them; and alſo in the Year 1618, got the five Articles, (commonly called *The five Articles of* Perth) to be ſettled, as more agreeable to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, but this was to the further Indignation of the Kirk-party; And herein King *James* ſet up his Reſt, as having gained an high Point; but tho' the King hated the *Presbyterian* Government, yet he oppoſed the *Arminian Tenets*.

A.D. 1622 *Abbot* obſerved of him, when he was at Court, he was *Buckingham's* only inward Counſellor, ſitting ſometimes with him privately whole Hours, and feeding his Humour with Malice and Spite; and when he was at *Oxford*, his Buſineſs was to pick Quarrels in the Lectures of publick Readers, and to advertiſe them to the Biſhop of *Durham*, *Neal*, (the great Countenancer of the *Arminian* Tenets, and Promoter of the King's Prerogative) that he might fill the Ears of King *James* with Diſcontents againſt the honeſt Men that took Pains in their Places, and ſettled the Truth (which he called *Puritaniſm*) in their Auditors.

Nor could *Laud* forbear when he could get the King's Ear, but he urged him more than once, to promote the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* in *Scotland*, after the obtaining the paſſing of the five Articles at *Perth*; this frighted King *James*, who better knew the Temper of his Countrymen, and how difficultly he had got the Articles of *Perth* to paſs, that *Laud*, ignorant of the Temper of the *Scotiſh* Nation, ſhould be ſo audacious to put the King upon this, which might embroil all *Scotland* in Tumults and Wars, and now becomes more averſe to *Laud's* Promotion than before.

But this was no Conſideration to *Buckingham*; whether the King would or not, *Laud* ſhould riſe: And ſoon after *Williams* was made Lord Keeper, the Biſhoprick of St. *David's* fell, and *Buckinham* reſolved *Laud* ſhould have it; and the Keeper muſt be the Man to propound it to the King, and receive no Denial. But it's fit to obſerve here, in what an humbling manner this Promotion was accompliſh'd on the part of *Laud*; and take it as it was ſent me by a Gentleman, with the Atteſtation of Col. *L.* and *R. L.* Eſq; who often heard Mr. *Francis Osburn* ſpeak of it as a certain Truth, and who had taken notice of it in ſome of his Works not made publick. As ſoon as *Laud* had Information that the foreſaid Biſhoprick was vacant, he haſtens to wait upon the Duke of *Buckingham* for that Preferment, but found the Duke was not ſtirring; but being impatient of Delay, prevails upon one of the Duke's Gentlemen to acquaint him he had earneſt Buſineſs with his Grace, and begged immediate Admittance;

mittance; which being granted, the Doctor enters his Grace's Chamber, and finds him a Bed with a Whore: The Duke asks his Buſineſs; *Laud* told him, the Biſhop of St. *David's* was dead, and that he came to beg his Grace to recommend him to the King for the vacant See. The Duke told him, that he had been repreſented to him as the proudeſt Man alive, and therefore he could not, in Honour, recommend him to the King: *Laud* aſſures his Grace, that what had been ſaid of him upon that Head, was utterly falſe, and the effect of Malice, *&c.* for he was ſo far acquainted with himſelf, as that he knew himſelf to be the humbleſt Man alive; I'll try that preſently, ſays the Duke, and ſo as a Teſtimony of his great Humility, orders him, Spaniel-like, to take ſeveral Turns over and under the Bed, (his Grace and his Whore all the while lying in it) which he did to Content; and when 'twas over, Well, ſays the Duke, now I believe you, and you ſhall have the Biſhoprick of St. *David's*. *Williams*, who knew the Diſpoſal of the Seal was as *Buckingham* pleaſed, durſt do no otherwiſe than become *Laud's* Advocate to the King; but the King was at firſt utterly averſe from it, giving *Laud's* Marriage of the Lady *Rich*, and his urging the King not to reſt at the five Articles of *Perth*, for ſome Reaſons; but the Keeper perſiſting, and alledging how ſorry *Laud* was for theſe, the King at laſt ſaid, *And is there no hoe, but you will carry it! then take him to you; but on my Soul you will repent it*; and ſo went away in Anger, uſing other fierce and ominous Words, which were divulged in Court, and are too tart to be repeated. *A. Reg. 20.*

It's obſervable, that Benefits conferred upon Ambitious Men, never create any Obligation of Gratitude; on the contrary, ill Men generally turn the Benefits received, to the Ruin and Overthrow of their Benefactors: More likely Inſtances hereof are rarely to be found than in *Laud* and *Buckingham*; this having received his firſt Admiſſion into the King's Favour by the Mediation of the Archbiſhop to the Queen *Anne*, none elſe being able to perſwade her to it; yet before the Archbiſhop could bring the Queen to it, ſhe often told him, *My Lord, You and the reſt of*

A.D.1622 *your Friends know not what you do; I know your Maſter (the King) better than you all: for if this young Man be once brought in, the firſt Perſons that he will plague muſt be you that labour for him; yea, I ſhall have my part alſo, the King will teach him to deſpiſe and hardly intreat us all, that he may be beholden to none but himſelf.*

But *Laud*'s Contrivance to ruin *Williams*, after Biſhop of *Lincoln*, takes up almoſt a Volume, reported by the Biſhop of *Litchfield*, and by what villanous Inſtruments, Perjuries, Subornation, and keeping back of Witneſſes, expunging and razing Records, and by diſplacing Sir *Robert Heath* from being Lord Chief Juſtice, becauſe he would not do *Laud*'s Drudgery, and bringing in Sir *John Finch*, who would *jurare in Verba Magiſtri*, as well as throw down the Bounds of the Foreſts to make the King's Subjects Inheritances to be a Prey to wild Beaſts: Yet after *Laud* had perpetrated all theſe, he confeſt he never read the Commiſſion by which he acted. See the ſecond Part of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Life.

However, *Laud* could make no great Progreſs of his Malice againſt the Keeper in the Shortneſs of the Reign of King *James*, after he became Biſhop; for the King had the Keeper's Parts and Learning in high Eſteem, tho' *Buckingham* both hated and feared the Keeper for them, no great Sign of a wiſe Stateſman, and had ſo little Wit as to ſay ſo: Yet *Laud*, now a Biſhop, from a Stickler and Informer againſt thoſe who oppoſed the *Arminian* Tenets, now becomes a Patron and Promoter of them; all Court-Favour now looked that way, and the Oppoſers of them were diſcountenanced, and ranked in the Degree of *Puritans*; all the Youth generally ran that way, and the Schools in both Univerſities rung loud upon thoſe Tenets, and from thence were diſperſed into all Parts of the Kingdom.

The King having ſpent the two Subſidies granted in Parliament, and the Benevolence, which he had by his own Authority raiſed all over *England*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, upon the Prince's Expedition into *Spain*; *Buckingham*, to his Project of getting the Dean and Chapters Lands, propounds the Sale of the Crown-Lands; but this meeting with many Difficulties,

Difficulties, and being diſſwaded from the farther Pro- *A. Reg.* 21.
ſecution of it, by the powerful Reaſons of my Lord Keeper *Williams*; there was now no other means left to get Money, but by calling a Parliament: And now *Buckingham* courts the popular Humour, and ſeems moſt forward to make appear in Parliament the Reaſons which induced him to perſwade the Prince to break off from the Match with *Spain*; which, tho' it took at preſent, yet it was but ſhort-lived, for the Treaty of the Marriage between the Prince and Daughter of *France* ſpoil'd all: But this was not known during the ſitting of the Parliament, which met upon the 16th of *February*, 162$\frac{3}{4}$.

We hear of no Proclamation now againſt talking of State-Affairs, the debating of them in Parliament is not *Sutor ultra crepidam*; on the contrary, the King, in his firſt Speech to them the 19th of *February*, tells them, *He craves their Advice, and that he would adviſe with them in Matters concerning his Eſtate and Dignity, and that he had ever endeavoured, by this and the like ways, to procure and cheriſh the Love of his People towards him: So he does hope, and his Hope exceeded by Faith, that never any King was more beloved by his People*, &c. Let any Man compare this with what the King ſaid and did laſt Parliament, and after, and judge of the Sincerity of this Part of the King's Speech, eſpecially when he remembred himſelf better, when in his laſt Speech to his Parliament, he boaſted he had broken the Necks of three Parliaments, which were all that were in his Reign, but this.

Subſtance of the King's Speech in Parliament.

But theſe were but Generals, of which he complains; afterwards, having learn'd it of his Scholar *Buckingham*, in particular he asks their free Counſels *in the Match of his Son*; the debating of which, laſt Parliament, gave him ſo great Offence. Now at this Time the King had broke off the Match in *Spain*, and was treating another with *France*, which was greedily entertained in the *French* Court, and ſome Progreſs made in it; of which the King, never, that I can find, or do believe, mentioned one Word to the Parliament.

*A.D.*1623. The next Particular which the King communicated to them, was of his Scholar, but now his Maſter; *Buckingham*, (in whom he ever repoſed the moſt Truſt of his Perſon) that he ſhould be ever preſent with the Prince in *Spain*, and never leave him till he returned again ſafely to him; which he did, tho' not with that Effect of the Buſineſs expected, yet not without Profit; for it taught him this Point of Wiſdom, *Qui verſatur in generalibus* is eaſily deceived, and that Generality brings nothing to good Iſſue, but that before any Matter can be fully finiſhed, it muſt be brought to Particulars; for when he thought the Affair had been, before their going, reduced to a narrow Point, (but there is no point in Generalities) relying upon their general Propoſitions (of which I do not find neither the King, nor the Prince, or *Buckingham* after him named one) he found, when they came there, the Matter proved ſo raw, as if it had never been treated of, they generally giving them eaſy way to evade, and affording them Means to avoid the effecting any thing. But it ſeems there were Particulars which the King would not then diſcover, but left them to the Prince and *Buckingham* to relate.

As for a Toleration of the *Roman* Religion, As God ſhall judge him, he ſaid, "he never thought, "nor meant, nor never in Word expreſſed any thing that ſavoured of it. *How was Archbiſhop* Abbot *miſtaken, when he wrote his diſſwaſive Letter againſt the King's Proclamation for the Toleration of Religion to* Roman Catholicks? *And how was my Lord Keeper* Williams *miſtaken, after the King had directed him and other Commiſſioners to draw up a Pardon for all Offences paſt by* Roman Catholicks, *with a Diſpenſation for thoſe to come, obnoxious to any Laws againſt Recuſants; and then to iſſue forth two general Commands under the Great Seal, the one to all* Judges *and* Juſtices *of* Peace, *and the other to all* Biſhops, Chancellors, *and* Commiſſaries, *not to execute any Statute againſt them; and tho' the Keeper paſt the Pardon as fully and amply as the* Papiſts *could deſire to pen it, yet the Keeper put ſome ſtop to the vaſt Prohibition to the* Judges *and* Biſhops, *for the Reaſons he gave?*

Firſt,

Firſt, Becauſe the publiſhing of this *General Indul-* *A. Reg.* 21.
gence at one puſh, may beget a general Diſcontent, if
not a Mutiny; but the inſtilling thereof into the Peo-
ple's Knowledge, by little and little, by the Favours
done to Catholicks, might indeed looſen the Tongues
of a few particular Perſons, who might hear of their
Neighbour's Pardon, and having vented their Diſ-
like, would afterward cool again; and ſo his Maje-
ſty might, by Degrees, with more Convenience en-
large his Favours.

Secondly, Becauſe to forbid the Judges againſt their
Oaths, and the Juſtices of Peace, who are likewiſe
ſworn to execute the Laws of the Land, is a thing
unprecedented in this Kingdom, and would be a harſh
and bitter Pill to be digeſted without ſome Prepara-
tive: But this Delay diſguſted the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſa-
dor.

And as God was his Judge, he never thought,
nor meant, nor ever in Word expreſſed any thing
that ſavoured of a Toleration of the *Popiſh* Religion:
So God was his Judge, and he ſpake as a Chriſtian
King. Never any way-faring Man that was in the
Deſarts of *Arabia*, and in danger of Death for want of
Water to quench his Thirſt, more deſired Water,
than he did thirſt and deſire the good and comfor-
table Succeſs of his Parliament, and Bleſſing upon
their Counſels, that the good Iſſue of this may ex-
piate and acquit the fruitleſs Iſſue of the former,
and prayed God their Counſels may advance Religi-
on and the publick Weal, and they of him and his
Children.

But tho' the King gloried that he had ever endea-
voured to procure and cheriſh the Love of his Peo-
ple to him, which the Lords and Commons did re-
preſent; yet the Commons could remember a Time
not out of mind with the King; for they choſe that
honourable Gentleman Sir *Thomas Crew* (newly retur-
ned from his Exile into *Ireland*, whither the King
had ſent him, as one of the ill-tempered Spirits who
adviſed him againſt the *Spaniſh* Match, and preſumed
to aſſert the Privileges of the Commons) for their
Speaker.

*A.D.*1623 After the Ceremonies of Opening the Parliament, and the Choice of a Speaker was over, the firſt thing that appeared upon the Stage of Affairs, was the Narrative of the Proceedings in the *Spaniſh* Match, made by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and aſſiſted by the Prince.

Buckingham's *Narrative of the* Spaniſh *Match.*

I ſhall not deſcant upon this long Narrative, but leave the anſwering of it to the Earl of *Briſtol*; but only take notice of the Preamble of the third Article of the Duke's Narrative, and the latter part of the fourth.

The Preamble of the third Article is, *It is fit to obſerve this Paſſage, which is the thing whereupon all his Highneſs's (the Prince's) ſubſequent Actions did depend: He had never ſtaid a Sennight longer in* Spain; *he had never left any Proxy with* Briſtol; *he had never taken the Oath at the* Eſcurial, *or ever ſo much as have written a Letter of Complement to the Lady, but that he had ſtill before his Eyes, as his Cynoſure, the Promiſe made by the* Conde (I think the Duke meant *Olivares*) *for the Reſtitution of the* Palatinate.

Why was this Treaty between King *James* and the *Conde*? Or if the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* were the Foundation upon which the whole Treaty moved, Why was it not ſo much as mentioned in all the Treaty, ſo ſolemnly ſworn to by both Kings, the Prince, and *Buckingham* himſelf? Nay, King *James* himſelf, by two ſeveral Expreſſes to the Earl of *Briſtol*, the firſt on the 14th of *May* 1621, and the other on the 30th of *December* 1623, commanded him, That he ſhould not make the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* a Condition of the Marriage.

For the better underſtanding of *Buckingham*'s Narrative in the fourth Article, it is fit to take notice, That the Reaſon in the Inſtrument for not purſuing the Proxies of the Marriage ſo ſolemnly ſworn to by the Prince, and *Buckingham* himſelf, was not for the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, but (forſooth) for fear the *Infanta* might retire into a Cloiſter, and ſo deprive the Prince of a Wife; tho' the *Infanta*, ſo far as the Gravity of the *Spaniards* would permit, ever expreſſed an entire Affection to the Prince: So that when the Prince took leave of the *Infanta*, ſhe ſeemed to deliver up her Heart to him, in as high Expreſſions

preſſions as that Language and her Learning could with her Honour ſet forth: for when the Prince told her, *His Heart would never be out of Anxiety, till ſhe had paſſed the intended Voyage, and were ſafe on the Britiſh Land*; She anſwered, with a modeſt Bluſh, *That if ſhe were in danger upon the Ocean, or diſcompoſed with the rolling brackiſh Waves, ſhe ſhould chear up her ſelf, and remember all the way to whom ſhe was going.* *A. Reg.* 21.

In the Proxies left with the Earl of *Briſtol*, there was a Clauſe inſerted, *De non revocando procuratore*; as much as to ſay, *irrevocable:* And becauſe the Earl did, in his Letter to the Prince, of the Firſt of *November* in 1623, preſs this vehemently to the Prince, the Prince vowed openly before both Houſes, that he had never by Oath nor Honour engaged himſelf not to revoke thoſe Powers, more than by the Clauſe *De non revocando procuratore*, inſerted in the Inſtrument it ſelf; and then he conceived the Clauſe to be matter of Form, and tho' eſſentially of no binding Power, yet uſually thruſt into every ſuch Inſtrument; and that the Civilians hold, That it is lawful by the Civil and Canon Law, for any Man to revoke his Proxy of Marriage, notwithſtanding it hath the Clauſe *De non revocando procuratore* inſerted in it: Therefore the Duke concluded, as to this Point, That *Briſtol*, in charging this Matter ſo highly upon the Prince, had much forgot himſelf.

Can any Man believe, that when the Prince made the Procuration to the King of *Spain*, and his Brother, to his Eſpouſals to the *Infanta* in his Name, and left it in *Briſtol's* Hands, with this Clauſe, *De non revocando procuratore*, that he then had conſulted with the *Civilians*, that he might revoke it when he pleaſed; or that this Marriage, nine Years in treating, was not founded upon the Honour and Oaths of the Kings, the Prince, and of *Buckingham* himſelf, but upon the Niceties and Quirks of the *Civilians*? Or did it become the Prince, or the Duke either, who when he parted from the King of *Spain* at the *Eſcurial*, ſolemnly to ſwear the Treaty of Marriage, and the Furtherance of it by all that was in his Power, in the Preſence of the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Sir *Walter Aſhton*, and now in the Face of the King and Parlia-

*A.D.*1623 ment, to plead a Nicety of the *Civilians*, to abſolve the Prince and himſelf? Now let us ſee what the Earl of *Briſtol* ſays for himſelf, for the Duke's Charge upon him for Proceedings upon this Match. His Reaſons were,

Briſtol's *Vindication.*

1. For that he had a Warrant under the Prince's Hand, for his Proceedings to conſummate the Match.

2. It was the main Scope of his Embaſſy.

3. He was enjoined by the King and Prince's Commiſſion under the Great Seal.

4. He had poſitive Orders under his Majeſty's Hand ſince.

5. It was agreed by Capitulation, that it ſhould be within ſo many Days after the coming of the Diſpenſation.

6. The King and Prince ſignified by their Letters to him, at the ſame time when they diſcharg'd him of his Commandment touching the *Infanta*'s entring into Religion, that they intended to proceed in the Marriage; which Letters bear date the 8th of *October* 1623.

7. The *Proxies* were to that end left in his Hands; and after again renewed, after the Prince's return into *England*.

8. That he had overthrown the Marriage without Order; for tho' Sir *Walter Aſton* and himſelf had uſed all poſſible means for gaining time, and deferring the Deſponſories, yet the King of *Spain* cauſed it to be proteſted, that in caſe the Earl ſhould inſiſt upon the deferring the Deſponſories, he would free himſelf from the Treaty by the Earl's infringing the Capitulations: And in truth, altho' the King of *Spain* ſhould have condeſcended to have prolonged the Deſponſories until one of the Days of *Chriſtmas*, as by the Letter was required; yet the Prince's *Proxies* had been before that time expired, and he durſt not, without a preciſe Warrant, put ſuch a Scorn upon ſo noble a Lady, whom he then conceived was like to have been the Prince's Wife, as to nominate a Day of Marriage, when the *Proxies* were out of date, and he himſelf had ſworn to the Treaty.

9. He

9. He could not, in Honour and Honeſty, but endeavour to perform that publick Truſt repoſed in him, when the *Proxies* were depoſited in his Hands, with publick and legal Declaration, with an Inſtrument by a Secretary of State to the King of *Spain*, leading and directing the Uſe of them: and the ſame being then *Inſtrumentum Stipulatum*, wherein as well the King of *Spain* was intereſted by the Acceptation of the Subſtitution, as the Prince by granting the *Proxies*; he could not in Honeſty fail the publick Truſt without clear and undoubted Warrant; which, ſo ſoon as he had, he obeyed. *A. Reg.* 21.

The Duke's ſtating the Queſtion, *ſuper totam materiam*, was,

Whether this, being the full Effect and Product of this Negociation, he had opened to the Parliament, be ſufficient, *ſuper totam materiam*, for his Majeſty to rely upon, with any Safety, as well for the Marriage of his Son, as for the Relief of his only Daughter? Or, that theſe Treaties ſet aſide, his Majeſty were beſt to truſt in his own Strength, and to ſtand upon his own Feet? So the Duke ended, That if the bringing us from Darkneſs to Light, did deſerve any Thanks, we muſt wholly aſcribe it to his Highneſs the Prince.

Here is a Tale finely told, *parte inaudita altera*; but the Duke ſhall hear more of it, and indeed it was a Net ſo ſpread in the ſight of every Bird, that it was a wonder it ſhould catch any: for at this time the Match was quite broke off with *Spain*, and another entered upon with *France*, when it muſt be ſuppoſed, forſooth, the *Spaniſh* Match was in Treaty, and now muſt be broken off by Advice in Parliament, which was before ſuch a Myſtery of State, as not to be meddled with in Parliament.

But while the Prince and Duke were wrapt up in ſecurity of the Parliament, as well as the King's Affections, and that now the Duke was become as well the Peoples as the King's Favourite, a new Accident happen'd, out of which, if the Prince and Duke had not been extricated by the matchleſs Wit and lively Induſtry of the Keeper, in all appearance it would have put both Prince and Duke out of the King's Favour and Affections,

A.D. 1623 Affections, diſſolved this beloved Parliament, and brought ſuch a train of miſchievous Conſequences, as could not have been foreſeen, or prevented.

While the Marriage between the Prince and *Infanta* was in Treaty, the King of *Spain* ſent *Don John*, Marqueſs *Inoioſa*, his Ambaſſador to be Reſident in *England*; a Man of true *Spaniſh* Gravity and Severity, and a moſt rigid promoter of the Popiſh Intereſt in *England*; ſo that he was taken notice of to be the moſt ſurly and unpleaſing Man that ever came to the Keeper about any Buſineſs.

If this Man were thus during the Treaty, it could not be expected he would become better natur'd upon the breaking of it; and the Duke of *Buckingham* was as jealous of him, that he ſhould ſpoil the Narrative he had made of the Proceedings in the *Spaniſh* Match, as he was of the Earl of *Briſtol*, and therefore would never admit the Marqueſs to have any private Audience of the King in the Duke's Abſence; ſo that Sir *Walter Aſton* wrote from *Spain*, that it was complained of, that Marqueſs *Inoioſa* had adverti ſed thither, he had not been able to procure a private Audience of the King, tho' he often deſired it, but what the Duke aſſiſted at.

Inoioſa, impatient of any longer Delay, about the latter end of *April* 1624, contrived this Expedient to put the following Paper into the King's Hand; he and *Don Carlo de Colonna* came adventurouſly to *White-hall*, and whilſt *Don Carlo* held the Prince and Duke in earneſt Diſcourſe, *Inoioſa* put this Paper into the King's Hand with a Wink, that the King ſhould put it into his Pocket, wherein,

Dangerous Paper put into the King's Hands by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador.

1. He terrifies the King, that he was not, or could not be acquainted with the Paſſages of his own Court, or of the Parliament, for he was kept from all faithful Servants that would inform him by the Miniſters of the Prince and Duke, and that he was a Priſoner as much as King *John* of *France* and *England*, or King *Francis* at *Madrid*, and could not be ſpoken with, but before ſuch as watched him.

2. That

2. That there was a ſtrong and violent Machination in hand, which had turned the Prince, a moſt obedient Son, to a quite contrary Courſe to his Majeſty's Intentions. *A. Reg.* 21.

3. That the Council began laſt Summer at *Madrid*, but was lately reſolved on in *England*, to reſtrain his Majeſty from the Exerciſe of the Government of his Kingdoms; and that the Prince and Duke had deſigned ſuch Commiſſioners under themſelves, as ſhould intend great Affairs, and the Publick Good.

4. That this ſhould be effected by beginning of a War, and keeping ſome Companies on foot in this Land, whereby to conſtrain his Majeſty to yield to any thing, chiefly being brought into Straits for want of Monies to pay the Soldiers.

5. That the Prince and Duke's incloſing his Majeſty from the ſaid Ambaſſador, and other of his own Loyal People, that they might not come near in private, did argue in them a fear and diſtruſt of a good Conſcience.

6. That the Emiſſaries of the Duke had brought his Majeſty into Contempt with the potent Men of this Realm, traducing him for ſlothful and unactive, for an addiction to an inglorious Peace, while the Inheritance of his Daughter and her Children is in the Hands of his Foes; and this appeared by a Letter which the Duke had writ into *Holland*, and they had intercepted.

7. That his Majeſty's Honour, nay his Crown and Safety, did depend upon a ſudden Diſſolution of the Parliament.

8. They loaded the Duke with ſundry Miſdemeanors in *Spain*, and his violent Oppoſition to the Match.

9. That the Duke had divulged the King's Secrets, and the cloſe Deſigns between his Majeſty and their Maſter King *Philip*, about the States of *Holland*, and their Provinces, and laboured to put his Majeſty out of the good Opinion of the *Hollanders*.

10. That the Duke was guilty of moſt corrupt dealing with the Ambaſſadors of divers Princes.

11. That all theſe things were carried on in the Parliament with an head-ſtrong Violence, and that the

A.D.1623 the Duke was the Cauſe of it, who courted them only that were of troubled Humours.

12. That ſuch Bitterneſs and Ignominies were vented in Parliament againſt the King of *Spain*, as were againſt all good Manners and Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The 13th is a flat Contradiction to the Precedents, wherein they made the Prince privy to dangerous things; yet in this they ſay, *That the Puritans* (of whom the Duke was Head) *did wiſh they could bring it about, that the Succeſſion of the Kingdom might come to the Prince* Palatine *and his Children, in right of the Lady* Elizabeth.

In a *Poſtſcript*, the Paper prayed the King, That *Don Franciſco Carondelet*, Secretary to the Marqueſs *Inoioſa*, might be brought to the King, when the Prince and Duke were ſitting in the Lords Houſe, to ſatisfy ſuch Doubts as the King might raiſe, which was performed by the Earl of *Kelly*, who watch'd a fit Seaſon at one time for *Franciſco*, and for *Padre Maeſtro* a Jeſuit at another time, who told their Errand ſo ſpitefully, that the King was troubled at their Relations.

How far the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Carondelet*, and the Jeſuit *Maeſtro*, could make good this Paper, I cannot tell, nor does the Biſhop ſay; however, the King was apprehenſive, that the Parliament was ſolicitous to engage him in a War for the *Palatinate*; which he ſo dreaded, that, as the Biſhop ſays, he thought ſcarce any Miſchief was ſo great as was worth a War to mend it; wherein the Prince did deviate from him, as likewiſe in his Affection to the *Spaniſh* Alliance: But he ſtuck at the Duke more, whom he defended in one part to one of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, yet at the ſame time complaining, *That he had noted him a turbulent Spirit of late, and knew not how to mitigate it, ſo that caſting up the Sum he doubted it might come to his turn to pay the Reckoning.*

Theſe Thoughts ſo wrought upon the King, that his Countenance fell ſuddenly, that he muſed much in Silence, and that he entertained the Prince and Duke with myſtical and broken Speeches: this nettled

tled them both, and enquiring the Reaſon, they could not go further, than they heard the *Spaniſh* Secretary, and the Jeſuit *Maeſtro*, had been with the King, and underſtood that ſome in the Ambaſſador's Houſe had vaunted, that they had nettled the Duke, and that a Train would take fire ſhortly to blow up the Parliament. *A. Reg.* 21.

In this Perplexity, the King prepared to take Coach for *Windſor*, to ſhift Ground for ſome better Reſt in this Unreſt, and took Coach at St. *James's* Gate, and the Prince with him, and found a ſlight Errand to leave *Buckingham* behind; as the King was putting his Foot into the Coach, the Duke beſought him, with Tears in his Eyes, and humble Prayer, that his Majeſty would let him know what could be laid to his Charge to offend ſo good and gracious a Maſter, and vowed by the Name of his Saviour he would purge it, or confeſs it: The King did not ſatisfy him, but breathed out his Diſguſt, that he was the unhappieſt alive to be forſaken of them that were deareſt to him, which was uttered and received with Tears from his own Eyes, as well as the Prince's and Duke's, and made haſte to *Windſor*, leaving the Duke behind: this was upon *Saturday* at the end of *April*. *The King diſpleaſed with* Bucking-ham.

The Duke forlorn retires to *Wallingford-Houſe*, and was in ſuch Confuſion and Diſtraction, that when my Lord Keeper, (who had notice of all theſe things, and was more careful of the Duke than he could be of himſelf) came to him, he found the Duke lying upon his Couch, in that immoveable Poſture, that he would neither riſe up nor ſpeak, tho' the Keeper invited him to it twice or thrice by courteous Queſtions. The Keeper told him, by the Faith of a deep Proteſtation, that he came purpoſely to prevent more Harm, and to bring him out of that Sorrow, into the Light of the King's Favour; *That he verily believed God's directing Hand was in it, to ſtir up his Grace to advance him to thoſe Favours, which he poſſeſſed, to do him Service at this Pinch of Extremity.*

The Keeper beſought the Duke to make haſte to *Windſor*, and to ſhew himſelf to the King before Supper

*A.D.*1623 Supper was ended; to deport himſelf with all amiable Addreſſes, and not to ſtir from him Day nor Night, for the Danger was, that ſome would thruſt themſelves to puſh on the King to break up the Parliament; and the next degree of their Hope was, upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament, to ſee his Grace committed to the *Tower*, and then God knows what would follow; the Keeper beſought him to be ſecret, and be quick and judicious in the Prevention: More might not be ſaid, becauſe the Loſs of Time might loſe all. The Duke thank'd him, and made haſte to *Windſor* before he was look'd for, and was as inſeparable from the King as his Shadow.

Lord Keeper Williams *finds out the Secret.*

The Fineneſs of the Keeper's Wit, in unriddling this Myſtery, is equal to that of *Cicero* in finding out the Bottom of *Catiline's* Conſpiracy; and by like means, *viz.* by Women, tho' after a different manner: For *Fulvia* of her own accord diſcovered *Catiline's* Conſpiracy, in Spite and Emulation to *Sempronia*; but the Keeper bribed one of *Fulvia's* Stamp, to get an Inſight into this Deſign, which ſo perplext the King.

It ſeems to me that the Prince and Duke had a Jealouſy that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador might infuſe ſomething into the Keeper, which might ſpoil the Narrative the Duke made in Parliament of the *Spaniſh* Match; and therefore the Keeper had given expreſs Orders, that neither the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, nor any of his Train, or Followers, ſhould come at him, whereby the Keeper had been ſecluded for a Month from any Intelligence from thence.

But before, *Don Franciſco Carondelet*, the Ambaſſador's Secretary, was frequently at the Keeper's; he was contrary to the Ambaſſador, as well by Birth, for he was a *Walloon*, not a *Caſtilian*, and Arch-Deacon of *Cambray*, as by Nature, being learned, and of a free and pleaſant Diſpoſition; whereas the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was moſt auſtere and ſowr, ſo as there was a great Intimacy between the Keeper and him, and out of him the Keeper got, what a Servant the Secretary was to ſome of our *Engliſh* Ladies of Pleaſure; but above all, to one in *Mark-Lane*, who by her Wit

ſo

ſo managed the Secretary, that he could keep no Se- *A. Reg.* 21.
cret from her, which ſhe would have had made known: With her the Keeper held Correſpondence, and preſented her bountifully, though he told the Prince he had never ſeen her; and by her the Keeper had the rough Draught of the Deſign of the Paper which the Ambaſſador had put into the King's Hands: The Keeper had alſo notice of an *Engliſh* Prieſt, who lived in *Drury-Lane*, which the Secretary loved above any other, and was dearer to him than his own Confeſſor.

The Commons had drawn up a Remonſtrance againſt the Liberty which the Prieſts aſſumed, which the King called a Stinging one, and which put the Prieſts into a great Terror; and in this Terror, he ſent his Purſevant Captain *Toothbie*, to ſeize the Prieſt in *Mark-Lane*, and not to commit him to Priſon, but to keep him at his own Houſe till further Order.

The Secretary ſoon heard of this, and was confounded what to do for the Prieſt's Delivery; he knew no other means to do it, but by my Lord Keeper, and from him he was baniſhed; yet in this Extremity, he ſent to the Keeper, to beg of him to ſee his Face but that Day, tho' he never ſaw him more: This was it the Keeper deſired, yet he ſeemed very unwilling to admit him; however, if the Secretary came about eleven of the Clock at Night, the Keeper would order one of his Servants to let him in at the back Door of the Garden.

When the Secretary came into the Keeper's Preſence, he told the Keeper, that nothing but a Matter as dear to him as his own Life, ſhould have forc'd him to break Rule to offend his Lordſhip with his Preſence, and bewailed the Diſaſter of his *Confrere's* Attachment, and moſt paſſionately implored the Keeper to compaſs his Deliverance.

And would you have me, ſays the Keeper, *run ſuch an Hazard to ſet a Prieſt at Liberty, a dead Man by our Statutes, when the Eye of the Parliament is ſo vigilant upon the Breach of Juſtice, eſpecially in this kind, to the ſadding of godly Men, who deteſt them that creep hither out of* Seminaries, *above all other Malefactors, becauſe they come with an intent to pervert them who have lived in the Boſom of our Church?*

My

A.D.1623 *My Lord,* ſays *Franciſco, let not the Dread of this Parliament trouble you, for I can tell you, if you have not heard it, that it is upon Expiration:* And then the Keeper pickt out of him the Heads of the Articles in the Paper the Ambaſſador had given the King, with all the Reaſons, Circumſtances, and diſtorted Proofs and Expoſitions to confirm them; and about two in the Morning diſmiſt the Secretary, and ordered the Purſevant to releaſe the Prieſt, with Caution that he ſhould croſs the Seas that Day, or the next.

The Keeper was as happy in his Memory, as in his Wit and Invention; for after the Secretary was gone, he neither ſlept, nor ſtirred out of the Room, till he had digeſted all the Secretary had told him in Writing, with his Obſervations upon each Particular; and when he had trimmed up a fair Copy, he carried it to the Prince at St. *James's.*

The Prince read the Charges, and admired at the Virulency of them; with the Antiſcripts of the Keeper, which were much commended; whereupon he cauſed his Coach to be made ready; but before he went, the Keeper humbly begg'd of him to conceal the Matter for two Reaſons: Firſt, for ſearching into the King's Counſels, which he would not ſhould be opened: Secondly, that when he had found them out, to diſcover them, tho' to his Highneſs; which the Prince promiſed, and then went to *Windſor.* When he came there, he called for the Duke, and ſhewed him a Paper privately, with the Apology in the other Column: the Duke humbly thank'd the Prince, that his Caſe was interwoven with his Highneſs, and their double Vindication put into one Frame; and beſought the Prince to know what *Vitruvius* had compacted a Piece of Architecture of ſuch Vicinity in ſo ſhort a time, but could not obtain it.

King reconciled to Buckingham.

So they forthwith deſired a private Hearing of the King, and gave the Schedule to his Majeſty's Conſideration; the King read it deliberately, and at many Stops ſaid, *'twas well, very well,* and drew the Prince and Duke near to him, and embraced them both, proteſting, he ſorrowed much that he had aggrieved them, with a Jealouſy fomented by no better than Traitors:

Traitors: *And that you may know*, ſaid the King, *how little you ſhall pay me for Reconciliation, I ask no more but to tell me who is your Ingineer, that ſtruck theſe Sparks out of the Flint, to light the Candle, to find the Groat which was loſt.* The Prince ſtood mute, and the Duke vowed, *he knew not the Author. Well*, ſaid the King, *I have a good Noſtril, and will anſwer mine own Queſtion; my Keeper had the main Finger in it, I dare ſwear he bolted the Flower, and made it up into Paſte. Sir*, ſaid the Prince, *I was precluded, by my Promiſe, not to reveal him, but I never promiſed to tell a Lie for him, your Majeſty has hit the Man: And God do him Good for it*, ſays the King; *I need not tell you both what you owe him for this Service; he has done himſelf this Right with me, that I diſcern his Sufficiency more and more.* A. Reg. 21.

Now let's ſee how the Duke requited the Keeper for his Service, which was but in *May*: In the beginning of *Michaelmas* Term following, the Duke perſwaded my Lord Chief Juſtice *Hobart* to tell the King, or give it under his Hand, that my Lord Keeper was not fit for the Place, and he would undertake to caſt the Keeper out, and put my Lord *Hobart* into his Place; but my Lord *Hobart* ſaid, *Somewhat might have been ſaid at firſt, but he ſhould do my Lord Keeper great wrong that ſaid ſo now.*

However, ſuch was the Temper of the Times, that both Houſes chimed in with the Duke in his Narrative, and juſtified him againſt the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who took great Offence at the Duke's Relation, as reflecting upon his Maſter's Honour, and demanded his Head for Satisfaction.

The King was ſo pleaſed with the Parliament's Juſtification of the Duke, that as he had been his Favourite *Somerſet*'s Advocate, to plead his Cauſe againſt the Opinion of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, to make the Counteſs of *Eſſex* to be *virgo intacta*, and ſo a fit Wife for *Somerſet*; ſo now he becomes his Diſciple *Buckingham*'s Advocate, to make him a Favourite to the Nation: and becauſe of the Excellency and Veracity of his Speech, which ſhould diſpoſe the Nation to it, we'll give it you *verbatim*.

A.D. 1624

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech in Parliament.

"I Might have nothing to ſpeak in regard of the "Perſon whereof you ſpake, but in regard of "your Motion, it were not civil; for if I be ſilent, "I ſhall neither wrong my ſelf, nor that Noble "Man which you now ſpake of, becauſe he is well "known to be ſuch an one as ſtands in no need of a "*Prolocutor* or *Fide-juſſor*, to undertake for his Fide- "lity, or well carrying of the Buſineſs: And in- "deed, to ſend a Man upon ſo great an Errand, "whom I was not to truſt for the Carriage thereof, "were a Fault, in my Diſcretion, ſcarce compatible "to the Love and Truſt I bear him. It is an old "Saying, *That he is a happy Man that ſerves a good "Maſter*; and it is no leſs true, *That he is a happy "Maſter that enjoys a faithful Servant.*

"The greateſt Fault (if it be a Fault) or at leaſt- "wiſe the greateſt Error, I hope, he ſhall ever "commit againſt me, was, his deſiring this Juſtifica- "tion from you, as if he had need of any Juſtification "from others towards me; and that for theſe Reaſons.

"*Firſt*, Becauſe he being my Diſciple and Scholar, "he may be aſſured he will truſt his own Relation. "*Secondly*, Becauſe he made the ſame Relation to "me which he did afterwards to both Houſes, ſo "as I was formerly acquainted with the Matter and "Manner thereof; and if I ſhould not truſt him in "the Carriage, I was altogether unworthy of ſuch "a Servant: He hath no Intereſt of his own in the "Buſineſs: He had ill Thoughts at Home for his "going thither with my Son, altho' it was my Com- "mand, as I told you before; and now he hath as "little Thanks for his Relation on the other part, "(*he has the Thanks of the Parliament*) yet he that "ſerves God and a good Maſter, cannot miſcarry "for all this.

"I have noted in the Negotiation, theſe three "remarkable Things, *Faith*, *Diligence*, and *Diſcreti- "on*, whereof my Son has born Record unto me; "yet I cannot deny, That as he thought to do good "Service to his Maſter, he has given an ill Exam- "ple to Ambaſſadors in Time to come, becauſe he

"went

" went this long Journey upon his own Charge: This will prove an ill Example, if many of my Ambaſſadors ſhould take it for a Precedent. He run his Head into the Yoke with the People here for undertaking the Journey; and when he had ſpent there 40 or 50000 *l.* (*where ſhould he have this Money*?) never offered his Account, nor made any Demand for the ſame, nor ever will: I hope other Ambaſſadors will do ſo no more. I am a good Maſter, that never doubted him, for I know him to be ſo good a Scholar of mine, that I ſay, without Vanity, he will not exceed his Maſter's Dictates; and I truſt the Report not the worſt he made, becauſe it is approved by you all, and I am glad he hath ſo well ſatisfied you, and thank you heartily for taking it in ſo good part, as I find you have done." *A. Reg.* 22.

Did ever any old experienc'd King (as he ſtiles himſelf) ſo dote upon a young, raw, and unexperienced Gentleman, (bred up in no ſort of Learning or Buſineſs, and ſcarce, before he became a Courtier, unleſs in his Infancy, breathed any other than *French* Air) in the Face of the Nation, as to magnify an invidious Tale, told by the Duke, to the Offence not only of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, conversant in the whole Affair, but alſo without hearing the Earl of *Briſtol*, who was the greateſt Stateſman of *England*, if not in *Europe*, and who had ſo honourably performed ſeveral Embaſſies, to the Honour of the King, ſo far as the thing would bear, and ſo manifoldly owned by the King? That his Scholar of the King's, unacquainted with the Treaty, ſhould break in upon the Earl, and not only unravel all, but quarrel with him, and in another King's Court with the prime Miniſter of State, by whom he might beſt have attained his End, if he deſigned any?

However, the Parliament addreſs themſelves to the King, and repreſent to him, That he cannot in Honour proceed in the Treaty of the Match with *Spain*, nor the *Palatinate*; and the Commons offer the King three Subſidies and three Fifteenths, for carrying on the War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, *Parliament Addreſs againſt the Spaniſh Match.*

*A.D.*1624 *nate*, in caſe the King will break off the Treaties; which the King accepted, proteſting to God, a Penny of this Money ſhould not be beſtowed but upon this Work, and by their own Committees; and the Commons took him at his Word, and appointed Treaſurers to receive the Money, and a Council of War to diſburſe the ſame.

But the Commons having granted theſe Subſidies, drew up a Petition againſt the Licence the Popiſh Party had taken during the Treaty with *Spain*. He was ſo nettled at it, that he called it a *Stinging One*; and hearing the Commons were entring upon Grievances, he could not endure it, and upon the 29th of *May* adjourned the Parliament to the 2d of *November* 1624, and from thence to the 7th of *April*, leaſt the King ſhould hear of another ſtinging Petition, or a Diſturbance in the *French* Treaty; but at this Adjournment he told them, at their next Meeting they might handle Grievances, ſo as they did not hunt after them, nor preſent any but thoſe of Importance; yet I do not find the Parliament ever met again, at leaſt never did any thing: However, the King paſſed a General Pardon, and the Parliament cenſured *Lionel* Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord Treaſurer, for Corruption in his Office, 50000 *l.* to the King, and to be impriſoned in the *Tower* during the King's Pleaſure, which was but three Days after the Adjournment of the Parliament; for upon the firſt of *June* he was ſet free.

Earl of Briſtol's *Arrival in* England.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing in Parliament, *Briſtol* was recall'd from his Embaſſy; but before his Arrival, the Duke dealt by all means, that the Earl might be committed to the *Tower* before he ſhould be admitted to the King's Preſence: But fearing the Marquiſs *Hamilton*, and my Lord Chamberlain would oppoſe him herein, the Duke preſſed them that they would concur in it; vowing he intended the Earl no hurt, but only feared, that if he ſhould be admitted to the King's Preſence, he would croſs and diſturb the Courſe of Affairs; but neither of theſe Lords would condeſcend thereunto. This was atteſted by my Lord Chamberlain before the Houſe of Lords.

This

This Deſign of the Duke's failing, he, to terrify the Earl from returning into *England*, writ to him, that if he kept not himſelf where he was, and laid hold of the great Offers which he heard were made unto him, it ſhould be the worſe for him. *A. Reg.* 22.

At *Bourdeaux* the Earl heard of the Aſperſions caſt upon him by the Duke in Parliament; of which the Earl did boldly afterward in the Houſe of Lords, in the ſecond Parliament of *Car.* 1. and in the Preſence of the Duke, affirm, *That there was ſcarce any one thing concerning him in the Declaration, which was not contrary to, or different from Truth.*

From *Bourdeaux* the Earl took Poſt to get into *England*, to vindicate himſelf; but when he came to *Calais*, tho' he ſent over to have one of the King's Ships allowed him, and for which publick Orders were given; and tho' the King had Ships which lay at *Boloign*, which might have every Day been with him in three Hours, and the Wind fair, yet none came, tho' the Earl waited for one eight Days; ſo that he was forced to paſs over to *Dover* in a Boat and ſix Oars.

When the Earl was landed at *Dover*, he was, by a Letter from the Lord *Conway*, (a Creature of the Duke's) commanded in the King's Name to retire to his Houſe, and not to come to Court, or the King's Preſence, until he had anſwered to certain Queſtions, which his Majeſty would appoint ſome of the Council to ask him; but this was not out of any ill meaning to him, but for fear the Parliament ſhould fall too violently upon him; and this the Duke ſaid to ſome of his Friends, was the Reaſon of the Earl's Reſtraint.

Hereupon the Earl humbly petition'd the King he might be expoſed to Parliament, and that if he had not ſerved the King honeſtly in all Things, he deſerved no Favour, but to be proceeded againſt with all Severity; but received Anſwer from the King, That there ſhould be but few Days paſt before he would put an end to his Affairs; but the Parliament was adjourned before the few Days paſſed, nor did he ever put an end to them.

A.D.1624 After the Adjournment of the Parliament, tho' *Briſtol* could not obtain Admiſſion into the King's Preſence, yet he obtained Leave to anſwer to all the Duke had, in his Abſence, charged upon him in Parliament; and withal wrote to the Duke, that if he, or any Man living, was able to make Reply, he would ſubmit himſelf to any thing which ſhould be demanded; which tho' the Duke preſumptuouſly ſaid, *That it is not an Aſſertion to be granted, that the Earl of* Briſtol *by his Anſwer had ſatisfied the King, the Prince, or himſelf of his Innocence*; yet it ſo ſatisfied the King, that when the Duke after preſſed the King that the Earl might ſubmit, and acknowledge his Fault, the King anſwered, *I were to be accounted a Tyrant, to engage an innocent Man to confeſs Faults of which he was not guilty.* Tho' the Earl ſaid he could prove this upon Oath, yet the Duke wrote to him, that the Concluſion of all that had been treated with his Majeſty was, that he ſhould make the Acknowledgment as was ſet down in that Paper, tho' at that time the King ſent him word, that he would hear him againſt the Duke, as well as he had heard the Duke concerning him; and ſoon after the King died; which Promiſe of the King's, the Earl prayed God did the King no hurt; however, the Earl obtained Leave of the King to come to *London*, to follow his private Affairs.

King ſatisfied with his Conduct.

We have now done with the *Spaniſh* Match, at leaſt during this King's Reign; yet the King's Deſires of ſeeing his Son married, were as impatient as thoſe of getting the *Infanta*'s huge Portion: and to that end, before the Meeting of the Parliament, and while the Treaty with the *Infanta* was yet breathing, the King ſent the Lord *Kenſington* (after Earl of *Holland*) to feel the Pulſe of the *French* Court, how it lay towards an Alliance between the Prince and Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, youngeſt Daughter of *Henry* IV. of *France*. A ſerene Heaven appeared in *France* upon the Motion: not a Cloud to be ſeen in all the *French* Horizon; *Lewis*, the King, telling my Lord *Kenſington*, he took it for an Honour, that he ſought his Siſter for the ſole Son of ſo illuſtrious a King, his Neighbour and Ally; only he deſired

deſired he might ſend to *Rome*, to have the Pope's Conſent, for the better Satisfaction of his Conſcience. And now you ſhall ſee how a little *French* Artifice could work upon the Conſcience of our wiſe and pacifick King, which we will give *verbatim* as the King ſays it, in Return to the *French* King: *A. Reg.* 22.

Moſt High, moſt Excellent, and moſt Puiſſant Prince.

King's Letter to the French King.

" OUR dear and moſt beloved good Brother, Cou-
" ſin, and ancient Ally: Altho' the deceaſed
" King of happy Memory was juſtly called *Henry the*
" *Great*, for having reconquer'd by Arms his King-
" dom of *France*, tho' it appertained to him as his
" proper Inheritance, (*ſo here King* James *determined*
" *his Title to* France) yet you have made a greater
" Conqueſt: for the Kingdom of *France*, though
" it was regained by the victorious Arms of your
" dead Father, it was his *de Jure*, and ſo he got no-
" thing but his own; but you have lately carried
" away a greater Victory, having by your two laſt
" Letters, ſo full of cordial Courteſies, overcome
" your good Brother and ancient Ally, and all the
" Kingdoms appertaining to him: for we acknow-
" ledge our Self ſo conquer'd by your more than
" Brotherly Affection, that we cannot return you
" the like; only we can promiſe and aſſure you,
" upon the Faith of an honeſt Man, that you ſhall
" always have Power not only to diſpoſe of our
" Forces and Kingdoms, but of our Heart and Per-
" ſon, and alſo of the Perſon of our Son, if you
" have need, which God prevent, praying you to
" reſt aſſured, that we ſhall not only be ſo far from
" cheriſhing or giving the leaſt Countenance to any
" of your Subjects, of what Profeſſion ſoever of
" Religion, who have forgot their natural Allegi-
" ance to you; but if we hear the leaſt inkling
" thereof, we ſhall ſend you very faithful Adver-
" tiſement; and you may promiſe your ſelf, that
" upon ſuch Occaſion, or any other which may
" tend to the Honour of your Crown, you ſhall al-
" ways have Power to diſpoſe of our Aſſiſtance as if
" the Cauſe were our own. So upon Aſſurances
" that our Intereſts ſhall be always common, we

A.D.1624 " pray God, moſt High, moſt Excellent, moſt " Puiſſant Prince, our moſt dear and moſt beloved " Brother and Ally, to have you always in his moſt " holy Protection. *New-market* the 9th of *February* " 1624. Your moſt affectionate Brother, Couſin, " and ancient Ally, *JAMES* K.

So prodigal was King *James* of his Promiſes, and ſo negligent in their Performance, whether they were in his Power or not. Now let's ſee what became of this bluſter of Words, and how the Intereſt of King *James* was common in this very Treaty, with the *moſt High, moſt Excellent, and moſt Puiſſant Prince*, his *moſt dear*, and *moſt beloved Brother, Couſin and Ally*, Lewis.

Reflections upon it. *Lewis*, whilſt King *James* was intent upon his Pleaſures, and purſuing the *Spaniſh* and *French* Matches, had taken almoſt all the In-land Cautionary Towns which the *Reformed* held in *France*, and about the beginning of this Treaty, by the Interpoſition of his Mother, had made Cardinal *Richlieu* prime Miniſter of State, who ſhall ſerve her as *Buckingham* ſhall ſerve the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Laud* his Patron *Williams*, Lord Keeper; and to *Richlieu* did *Lewis* commit the Management of this Treaty, another-gueſs Miniſter of State than *Olivares* was in *Spain*, and ſhall pay *Buckingham* his own again with Intereſt.

Nani, lib. 5. *fol.* 205. obſerves of *Richlieu*, that the King had no Inclination to him, there being a certain natural ſecret Averſion to thoſe, who with an Aſcendant of Wit exceed: Sure it is, the Cardinal poſſeſſed rather the Power of Favour than the Favour it ſelf: nevertheleſs, he had the *Great Art* how to fix the mutable and ſuſpicious *Genius* of the King, and the inconſtant Nature of the People, governing as with a ſupream Dictatorſhip, the one and the other, even to his Death.

Richlieu had his Eyes in all the Corners of the Court of *England*, and was throughly informed of the King's Fondneſs of this Match, and of the Inſufficiency of *Buckingham* to encounter him in the Tranſactions of it; and therefore how ſweetly and deſiredly

deſiredly ſoever the Propoſition was embraced in *France*, yet in the Treaty *Richlieu* ſtood upon his Tip-toes, now that of *Spain* was broke off. *A. Reg.* 22.

In the firſt place, he would not abate one *Iota* of the Articles of Religion and Liberty to the Popiſh Recuſants, which was agreed upon in *Spain*; nay, he raiſed them higher; for it was but fit, he ſaid, *His Maſter, who was the eldeſt Son of the Church, ſhould not abate any thing of what was granted to the Catholick King*: if there had been nothing elſe, this would have cauſed another ſtinging Petition from the Commons (as the King called it) if ever they had met again.

And though her Portion was but 800000 Crowns, yet the Conſideration of it muſt be 18000 *l. per Ann.* Jointure, (*which her Son encreaſed to* 40000 *l.*) and beſides, the King ſhall give her 50000 *l.* in Jewels, whereof ſhe ſhall have the Property, as of thoſe ſhe has already, and alſo of what ſhe ſhall have hereafter: The King alſo ſhall be obliged to maintain her and her Houſe; and in caſe ſhe come to be a Widow, ſhe ſhall enjoy her Dowry and Jointure, which ſhall be aſſigned in Lands, Caſtles, and Houſes, whereof one ſhall be furniſhed and fit for Habitation, and the ſaid Jointure be paid her whereſoever ſhe ſhall deſire to reſide; ſhe ſhall alſo have the free Diſpoſal of all the Benefices and Offices belonging to the ſaid Lands, whereof one to be a Dutchy or County.

And in caſe ſhe ſurvive her Husband, her Dowry ſhall be returned to her entirely, whether ſhe live in *England* or not: and in caſe ſhe die before her Husband, without Children, the Moiety of her Portion to be returned: yet this Portion muſt, one half be paid the Year after the Contract, the other half, the Year after that.

Having taken a view of the Temporal Articles of this Treaty, let's ſee what was agreed to in thoſe which referred to Religion.

The

A. D. 1624

The Articles of Marriage of the King of Great Britain, *with Madame* Henrietta Maria *of* France.

Articles of Marriage between Prince Charles *and* Henrietta Maria *of* France.

THIS Negotiation was ſo happy, that it cauſed the King to conſent to all the Articles which were demanded for the *Catholicks*, and that his Majeſty gave Charge to his Ambaſſadors to agree to them: they ſigned them with the Cardinal at *Paris*, the 10th of *November* 1624, with theſe Conſiderations:

That Madame, *the King's Siſter ſhould have all ſort of Liberty in Exerciſe of the* Catholick, Apoſtolick *and* Roman *Religion, and all her Officers and her Children; and that they ſhould have for this Purpoſe a Chapel in all the Royal Houſes, and a Biſhop, with twenty eight Prieſts, to adminiſter the Sacraments, and the Word of God, and to do all their Offices.*

That the Children which ſhould be born of that Marriage, ſhould be nouriſhed and brought up by *Madame* in the Catholick Religion, until the Age of thirteen Years.

That all the Domeſticks which ſhe ſhould carry into England *ſhould be* French Catholicks, *choſen by the* Moſt Chriſtian King; *and when they died, ſhe ſhould take other* French Catholicks *in their Places, but nevertheleſs by the Conſent of the King of* Great Britain.

That the King of Great Britain, *and the Prince of* Wales *his Son, ſhould oblige themſelves by Oath, not to attempt by any means whatſoever to make her change her Religion, or to force her to any that might be contrary thereto; and ſhould promiſe by writing in the Faith and Word of a King and Prince, to give Order that the* Catholicks, *as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, who have been impriſoned ſince the laſt* Edict *againſt them, ſhould be ſet at Liberty.*

That the Engliſh Catholicks *ſhould be no more enquired after for their Religion, nor conſtrained to take the Oath, which contains ſomething contrary to the* Catholick *Religion: That their Goods that have been ſeized ſince the laſt* Edict, *ſhould be reſtored them.*

And generally that they ſhould receive more Graces and Liberty in Favour of the Alliance with France, *than had been promiſed them in conſideration of that of* Spain.

The

A. Reg. 22.

The Deputation of Father Berule, *Superior General of the Fathers of the* Oratory *to his Holineſs, to obtain the Diſpenſation for the aforeſaid Marriage.*

THE Inſtructions which were given to Father *de Berule*, were to render himſelf with all Diligence at *Rome*, to obtain the Pope's Diſpenſation, and to this Effect to repreſent to his Holineſs, That the King of *Great Britain* having demanded of the King, his Siſter *Madame Henrietta Maria*, for a Wife for the Prince of *Wales*, his Son; his Majeſty hearken'd the more willingly to this Propoſition, in that he eſteem'd it very profitable towards the Converſion of the *Engliſh*, as heretofore a *French* Princeſs married into *England*, had induced them to embrace Chriſtianity: but the Honour which he had vowed to the Holy See, and particularly to his Holineſs, who baptized him in the Name of Pope *Clement* VIII. did not permit him to execute the Treaty without having obtained his Diſpenſations. That this Marriage ought to be look'd upon, not only for the Benefit of the *Engliſh* Catholicks, but of all *Chriſtendom*, who would thereby receive great Advantage: That there was nothing to be hazarded for in *Madame*, ſeeing that ſhe was as firm in the Faith and in Piety as he could deſire: That ſhe had a Biſhop and twenty eight Prieſts to do their Duties: That ſhe had not a Domeſtick that was not Catholick, and that the King of *Great Britain*, and the Prince of *Wales*, would oblige themſelves by Writing, and by Oath, not to ſolicit her directly or indirectly, neither by themſelves, or by Perſons interpoſed, to change her Religion. On the contrary having nothing to fear for her, he had great Cauſe to hope, that ſhe being dearly beloved of the King, who was already well enough diſpoſed to be a Catholick, and of the Prince of *Wales*, ſhe might by ſo much the more contribute to their Converſion, as Women have wonderful Power over their Husbands, and their Fathers in-law, when Love hath given them the Aſcendant over their Spirits: That ſhe was ſo zealous in Religion, that there was no doubt but ſhe

A.D. 1624 ſhe would employ in this pious Deſign, all that depended upon her Induſtry; and that if God ſhould not bleſs her Intentions in the Perſon of King *James*, and of the Prince of *Wales*, it was apparent that their Children would be the Reſtorers of the Faith which their Anceſtors had deſtroyed, ſeeing ſhe would have the Charge to educate them in the Belief, and in the Exerciſes of the Catholick Religion, till the Age of thirteen Years? and that theſe firſt Seeds of Piety being laid in their Souls, cultivated with Care at the time when they ſhould be more ſuſceptible of Inſtructions, would infallibly produce ſtable and permanent Fruits, that is to ſay, a Faith ſo firm, that it may not be ſhaken by Hereſy in a riper Age. That after all, the Catholicks of *England* would receive no ſmall Profit at preſent, ſince the King of *Great Britain*, and the Prince of *Wales*, would both oblige themſelves upon their Faith, and by Writing, no more to enquire after them, nor puniſh them when they ſhould be diſcovered; to enlarge all thoſe that had been impriſon'd, and to make them Reſtitution of Money and of other Goods that had been taken from them ſince the laſt Edict, if they were yet in being; and generally to treat them with more Favour than they could have expected from the Alliance with *Spain*. And further, He had Orders to let the Pope underſtand, that to render more Reſpect to the Church, it had been agreed, that *Madam* ſhould be affianced and married according to the Catholick Form, and agreeable to that which was followed at the Marriage which *Charles* IX. made of Madam *Margaret* of *France* with the late King *Henry* IV. then King of *Navarre*. All theſe things ſpoke themſelves, and appeared ſo viſibly, that they would admit of no doubt: ſo this Father that wanted neither Spirit nor Fire, repreſented them dexterouſly to the Pope; and his Holineſs made him hope for a ſpeedy and favourable Anſwer, *&c.*

How does this agree with the King's Speech at the opening of the Parliament, in the 18th Year of his Reign, *That if the Treaty of the Match between his Son*

Son and the Infanta of Spain *were not for the Benefit of the Eſtabliſhed Religion at Home, and of the Reformed Abroad, he was not worthy to be their King?* And how does this agree with that part of the King's Speech at the opening of this Parliament, *That as for the Toleration of the* Roman *Religion, as God ſhall ſurely judge him,* he ſaid, *he never thought nor meant, nor never in Words expreſſed any thing that favoured of it?* A. Reg. 22.

Do not Religion, Truth, and Juſtice ſupport the Thrones of Princes, and Hypocriſy, Falſhood, and Injuſtice undermine and overthrow them? What future Happineſs then could either the King or Prince hope to ſucceed this Treaty, ſworn to by them both, ſo diametrically contrary to the Laws and Conſtitutions of this Nation, wherein the Majeſty of the King, as well as the Safety of the Nation, is founded? And to govern by theſe, and obſerve this Treaty, will be impoſſible. What Peace could the Prince find at Home, even in his Bed, when an imperious *French* Wife ſhall be ever inſtigating him to break his Coronation-Oath, to truckle to that impoſed upon him by her Brother of *France*?

Theſe Pills, how bitter ſoever, muſt be ſwallowed by the King, rather than his Son ſhall be baulk'd a ſecond time; nay, it ſeems they were very ſweet to him: for he ſaid paſſionately to the Lords of the Council of the King of *France*; The King of *France* has wrote unto me, that he is ſo far my Friend, that if ever I have need of him, he will render me Offices in Perſon, whenſoever I ſhall deſire him. Truly he hath gained upon me more than any of his Predeceſſors; and he may believe me, that in any thing that ſhall concern him, I will employ not only my Peoples Lives, but my own; (*bravely ſpoken, and like K.* James) and whoſoever of his Subjects ſhall riſe againſt him, either Catholicks or others, ſhall find me a Party for him. 'Tis true, if he be provoked to infringe his Edicts, he ſhall impart as much as in him lies, by Counſel and Advice, to prevent the Inconveniencies. *Who ever expected he ſhould do more, or ever did?*

But

A.D. 1624 But *Venus* muſt not have the only Aſcendant in this Treaty; for the Cardinal will have *Mars* to be in Conjunction with her, and 'twas high time; for at this Time Monſieur *Sobiez* had provided a great Fleet of Men of War (as Times went then with the *French*) and had entered and ſurpriſed the Fort of *Blavet* in *Bretaign*, and took and carried away ſix of the *French* great Men of War out of it, and alſo taken the Iſles of *Rhe* and *Oleron*, which he began to fortify; and being abſolute Maſter of the Sea, triumphantly, with a Fleet of 75 Men of War of all ſorts, landed a conſiderable Force at *Medoc* near *Bourdeaux*.

The Court of *France* was never ſo alarmed as at this, notwithſtanding all the King's Victories over the *Reformed* by Land, and therefore the Cardinal threw another Article into the Treaty, That King *James* ſhould lend the *French* a Fleet of Ships to repreſs *Sobiez*; and in lieu thereof, the *French* ſhould permit *Mansfield*, who had raiſed an Army of 10000 Foot and 2000 Horſe in *England*, to land at *Calais*, where the *French* ſhould join him with another Body of Horſe and Foot, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*.

But ſee the *French* Faith, and how well *Lewis* made good his Promiſe to King *James*, to render him all Offices in his own Perſon, whenſoever King *James* ſhould deſire him; for at this Time the Army being ſhipt at *Dover*, and put over to *Calais*, where being denied Entrance, and having no other Inſtructions, and wanting Proviſions, they lay neglected at Sea; and in this Diſtreſs a Peſtilence raged among them, ſo that they were forced to ſail to *Zealand*, where having no Orders, they were denied Landing there; and this being the moſt terrible Seaſon of the Year, in *December*, what by Hunger, Cold, and Peſtilence, ſo that two thirds of them periſhed, before Leave could be obtained to land them in *Holland*; ſo that they never did the King of *Spain* near ſo much Hurt, as they had done in *England* before they were ſhipt, living upon Plunder and Free Quarter.

Theſe were ſad Preſages of future Happineſs from the deſigned Marriage, yet theſe Things no ways diſcompoſed the quiet Repoſe of our pacifick King;

ſo

ſo as he might ſee his only Son married to a Daugh- *A. Reg.* 22.
ter of *France*, was all his Buſineſs; no matter how. The Thirſt (which God was his Judge, and as he was a Chriſtian King, he had contracted, equal to that of the wayfaring Man in the Deſarts of *Arabia*, and in Danger of Death for want of Water) for the good Succeſs of the Parliament, is now aſſwaged by the granting of three Subſidies and three Fifteenths: Here's no mention of marrying his only Son with the Tears of his only Daughter; and he is ſtill ready, with the Lives of his Subjects, and his own, to aſſiſt the moſt High, moſt Excellent, and moſt Puiſſant Prince, his moſt dear, and moſt beloved Brother, Couſin, and antient Ally, *Lewis*.

The Managers of this Treaty were, *Hay* a *Scotsman*, created Earl of *Carliſle*; and the Lord *Kenſington*, for the more Honour of it, created Earl of *Holland*; two of the King's Favourites of the ſecond Rate, but who bare no Proportion to the Sagacity, Wiſdom, and Integrity of the Earl of *Briſtol*. *Briſtol* was all Heart of Oak, and would not bend to *Buckingham*'s Pride and Ambition; but they were Willows, that were liable to every Nod and Wind of *Buckingham*'s Breath. But how comes *Buckingham*, who muſt have an Oar in every Boat, to be abſent from this Treaty? The Reaſon was, tho' he were not wiſe, yet he was jealous, leſt King *James*, in his Abſence, ſhould hear *Briſtol* againſt him, as the King had promiſed, as well as he had heard *Buckingham* againſt him; which was ſo dangerous a Rock, as our Land-Admiral would not venture to run againſt.

Notwithſtanding all this Haſte for conſummating this deſired Marriage, the Thread of the King's Life was ſpun out before; for upon the 27th of *March*, *Ann.* 1625, he died at *Theobalds* in the 58th Year of his Age, having reigned twenty two Years compleat. Having had an Ague, the Duke of *Buckingham* did, upon *Monday* the 21ſt before, when in the Judgment of the Phyſicians the Ague was in its Declination, apply Plaiſters to the Wriſts and Belly of the King, and alſo did deliver ſeveral Quantities of Drink to the King, tho' ſome of the King's Phyſicians did diſallow thereof, and refuſed to meddle further with the *King's Death.*

*A.D.*1624 the King, until the ſaid Plaiſters were removed; and that the King found himſelf worſe hereupon; and that Droughts, Raving, Fainting, and an intermitting Pulſe, followed hereupon; and that the Drink was twice given by the Duke's own Hands, and a third Time refuſed; and the Phyſicians, to comfort him, telling him, that this ſecond Impairment was from Cold taken, or ſome other Cauſe; *No, no,* ſaid the King, *it is that which I had from* Buckingham. I confeſs, this was but a Charge upon the Duke, upon the Impeachment of the Commons, as you may read in *Ruſhworth, fol.* 355, 356, yet it was next to poſitive Proof; for King *Charles*, rather than this Charge ſhould come to an Iſſue, diſſolved the Parliament, which was a Failure of Juſtice, tho' the Commons had voted him four Subſidies, and four Fifteenths, before it was paſſed into an Act.

The Character *of King* James.

His Character. HE was the firſt of that Name King of *England*, and the firſt King of the whole Iſle of *Britain*, and the firſt King, ſince *Henry* the firſt, that was born out of the Allegiance to the King of *England*, and was the firſt, (at leaſt ſince *Rich.* 2.) that affected and endeavoured to introduce an *Arbitrary Power* in *England*, foreign to the Laws and Conſtitutions of it; and in all his Reign was more governed by Flatterers and Favourites, than by the Advice of his Parliament, or a wiſe Council.

His Flatterers and Favourites ſeldom ſpake of him but under the Appellation of *Moſt Sacred*, rarely I think or never before uſed to any of the Kings of *England*; and of the *Solomon of the Age*, though never were two Kings more unlike, unleſs it were in their Sons, *Charles* and *Rehoboam*; for *Solomon* died the richeſt of all the Kings of the World, King *James* the pooreſt; *Solomon* was inſpired above all other Kings with Wiſdom, and his Proverbs Divine Sentences, for Improvement of Vertue and Morality; whereas this King's Learning, wherein he and his

his Flatterers ſo much boaſted, was a Scandal to his Crown; for all his Writings againſt *Bellarmine* and *Peron*, of the Papal Power of *King-Killing* and *King-Depoſing*, were only Brawls and Contentions, and no Learning on one ſide or the other: A Power diſclaimed by our Saviour, when the Devil would have given him it; and denied any ſuch Power in this World, even when the *Jews* were ready to crucify him, *John* 18. 36. *A. Reg.* 22

And as there were no Reaſons for theſe Brawls, ſo was the End of them, Arrogance on the Popiſh Part, to impoſe a foreign Power or Juriſdiction upon the King and Kingdom, and as fooliſh on the King's Part, it being exploded by the Nation, and under the ſevereſt Penalty, the aſſerting ſuch a Power prohibited; and how could the King by his Writings further ſecure himſelf and the Nation againſt it?

But it ſeems the King was in this more zealous for himſelf and the Preſervation of his *Inherent Birthright* to the Crown of *England*, than for the Honour of God and our Saviour, againſt the Pope's Uſurpations other ways; for in his Speech at the Opening the firſt Parliament of his Reign, he calls the Church of *Rome* a *true Church*, and our *Mother Church*, and if they would lay aſide their King-killing and King-depoſing Doctrine, and ſome Niceties, (but names them not) he was content to meet them mid-way.

Does not the Pope exalt himſelf above God, and is *Antichriſt*, in forbidding the Laity the Cup in the partaking the Sacrament of Chriſt's laſt Supper? If any Man makes a Queſtion of it, I'll demonſtrate it by a better Syllogiſm, than can be made up of *Ariſtotle's Analyticks*.

For whoſoever ſhall forbid what another commands, exalts himſelf above that other.

But the Pope forbids the Drinking of the Cup at the Sacrament to the Laity, who are Chriſt's Members as well as the Prieſts.

And our Saviour commands the Cup with an Emphaſis, *Drink ye All of it.*

A.D.1624 Therefore the Pope exalts himſelf above our Saviour, and is Antichriſt, which was to be demonſtrated; and this Mutilation makes this the Pope's, and not a Sacrament of our Saviour's Inſtitution.

COROLLARY.

By the ſame Reaſon, I ſay, the Pope exalts himſelf above God, in forbidding Marriage to the Prieſts.

For Marriage is an Inſtitution of God in Paradiſe, *Gen.* 2. and commanded by God, *Gen.* 9. 1. and the Pope forbids the Marriage of Prieſts; which St. *Paul* ſays is the Doctrine of Devils; and it's worthy Obſervation, that the Pope makes Marriage to be a Sacrament, yet denies it to Prieſts; and our Saviour commands the Cup in the Sacrament of his laſt Supper to be drunk by all, yet this is denied the Laity, and only allowed to Prieſts.

I ſay Pope *Julius* the ſecond in diſpenſing with *Henry* the eighth to marry his Brother *Arthur*'s Wife, exalted himſelf above God.

For whoſoever ſhall diſpenſe with, or allow what another forbids, exalts himſelf above that other.

But *Julius* diſpenſed with *Henry*'s Marriage of his Brother's Wife.

And God forbids the Marriage of a Man's Brother's Wife, *Lev.* 18. 16.

Therefore *Julius* exalted himſelf above God, which was to be demonſtrated.

It's true, I do not find the Marriage of a Man's Siſter's Daughter particularly forbidden by the *Levitical* Law; yet by the 17th Verſe it is by inference forbidden, and is abhorrent to Nature: So that when *Cambyſes* asked the *Magi*, if it were not lawful to marry his Siſter's Daughter, they told him it was not; yet like Flatterers, they told him he might do what he pleaſed; and *Platina* (I think it is in the Life of Pope *Boniface* the fifth, or *Honorius*) exclaims againſt the Emperor *Heraclius* his marrying his Siſter's Daughter, as an Impiety ſcarce ever heard of: yet three Popes ſucceſſively diſpenſed with *Philip* the ſecond, *Philip* the third, and *Philip* the fourth, Kings of *Spain*,

Spain, marrying with their own Nieces, *viz.* their Siſter's Daughters. *A. Reg.* 22.

It were needleſs to enumerate the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, how diſhonourable they are to God, and his ſacred Laws. I'll give Inſtances only in two: 1. Their *Invocation of Saints* after Death, many of which are of their own making, thereby attributing to them a concurring Power with God, in his Omniſcience, which is a robbing God of his Honour; and if Saints after Death be not Omniſcient, it were in vain to pray to them.

The other is diſpenſing with Mens Promiſes and their own, tho' they have bound themſelves to the Performance of them by an Oath; whereby the Popes render themſelves Enemies of Mankind, and Humane Society; for theſe are founded in Truth, and Mens mutual Performance of their Promiſes. That this for ſeveral Hundreds of Years hath been practiſed by the Popes upon thoſe Princes and Subjects, whom they pleaſe to call *Hereticks*, (when the Popes are greater) is well known to thoſe converſant in their Hiſtories: I'll give but one Inſtance of the Liberty the Popes take to themſelves herein.

Upon the Death of Pope *Marcellus* the ſecond, *Ann.* 1555, the Cardinals in the Conclave, before they proceed to the Election of another Pope, mutually ſwore, That whoſoever ſhould be choſen, ſhould call a Synod in ſix Years, and not make more than four Cardinals in two Years after the Election, and *Paul* the fourth was choſen. See *the Council of Trent*, Anno 1555.

Some ſmall Time after this Election, *Paul* entred the *Conclave*, to declare his Intentions of a Promotion of Cardinals; and the Cardinal of St. *James*'s preſſed to him, and put him in Mind of his Oath before his Election; but the Pope thruſt the Cardinal back, and told him, *This was to bind the Pope's Authority; that it is an Article of Faith, that the Pope cannot be bound, much leſs bind himſelf; that to ſay otherwiſe was manifeſt Hereſy, from which he did abſolve thoſe who ſpake it, becauſe he thought they did not ſpeak obſtinately; but if any ſhould ſay the ſame again, he would give Order the Inquiſition ſhould proceed.* And this being ſpoken in

A.D.1624 the *Conclave*, was *in Cathedra*, and infallible, and never ſince retracted by him, or any other Pope. Theſe are the Hereſies in the Church of *Rome*, for which Men muſt be ſlaughtered and burnt, and for not believing them againſt the Evidence of a Man's Senſes to the contrary, and againſt the Nature of a Sacrament; That the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, after Conſecration, is Chriſt's organical Body and Blood: This is that true and Mother-Church which the King would meet mid-way, if it would let him and his *Inherent Birth-right* alone.

This is that Prince, who to proſecute theſe Brawls, and to wallow in ſenſual Pleaſures, neglected the foreign and domeſtick Affairs of his Kingdom; only Great in making himſelf little, and not beloved at Home, and contemptible and diſhonoured Abroad. A Prince who ſquandred away the ſacred Patrimony of the Crown amongſt Flatterers and Favourites, thereby becoming not able to maintain the Honour of the Nation Abroad; and neglecting the Encreaſe and Repair of his Navy-Royal, not only rendred the Nation in an unſettled and dangerous Peace at Home, but notwithſtanding the Treaty with the *Dutch* for Licence to fiſh upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, ſuffered them with Men of War to guard their Fiſheries, and to do it whether he would or not. A Prince, that by his diſſolute Life, and prophane Converſation, debauched and effeminated the *Genius* of the *Engliſh* Nation, whereby it became more ſcandalized for Swearing and Drinking, than in any Age before. A Prince that broke all the Meaſures by which *Hen.* 8. and Queen *Elizabeth* were the Arbitrators of *Chriſtendom*. A Prince fearful of all his Enemies Abroad, while he was only great by exerciſing a Tyrannical Arbitrary Power over his Parliaments and Subjects, who could only have made him great Abroad, and honoured at Home; whereby he became little beloved at Home, and ſuffered the *Dutch* to redeem their Cautionary Towns upon their own Terms, and to diſpoſſeſs the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*, and their other Factories in the *Eaſt-Indies* and *Africa*. He only ſtood ſtill, looking on, while the *French* upon the Matter, ſuppreſs'd the *Reformed* in *France*; and ſuffered

ſuffered *Ferdinand* the ſecond to over-run, and near ſubdue the *Proteſtant* Princes in *Germany*, as well as his own Son-in-Law: And tho' he were the ſixth of that Name, King of *Scotland*, from *John*, alias *Robert Stuart*, the Son of *Robert Stuart*, by his Paramour *Elizabeth Moor*; yet if Sir *James Melvil* ſays true, that Cardinal *Bethoun* poiſoned *James* the fifth, he was the firſt of that Name who died a natural Death, if he did ſo; for *James* the firſt was murdered by his Uncle the Earl of *Athol*, his Grandfather's legitimate Son, in his Queen's Arms, with eight and twenty Wounds, the Queen receiving two to defend him, in the Year 1436. *A. Reg.* 22.

James II. was kill'd by the breaking of a Piece of Cannon, while he beſieged the Caſtle of *Roxburgh*, the 3d of *Auguſt* 1460. *Misfortunes of the* Scotch *Kings.*

James III. having his Army routed by an Army headed by his Son *James*, was killed at *Bannoch-Burn*, by the Lord *Gray*, and *Robert Sterling* of *Ker*, after Sir *Andrew Brothick*, a Prieſt, had ſhriven him. This was in 1488.

James IV. was killed the 9th of *December* 1514, at *Flowdenfield*, by the *Engliſh*, commanded by the Earl of *Surrey*, and his Body never found; and if *James* V. was poiſoned, then none of theſe *James*'s died a natural Death, neither did King *James*'s Mother, being put to Death, *Ann.* 1587, for conſpiring the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*.

After the Diſſolution of the *Spaniſh* Match, the King as greedily proſecuted the *French*; and tho' he lived not to ſee it ſettled, yet he ſaw the Army raiſed under Count *Mansfield*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, ruined by truſting to the *French* Faith in this very Treaty. When he died, he not only left an empty *Exchequer*, but a vaſt Debt upon the Crown, yet was engaged in a foreign War; and the Monies given by the Parliament for carrying it on, were ſquandred away in carrying on the *French* Treaty, and the Nation imbroiled in inteſtine Feuds and Diſorders.

At his Death he left a Son and Heir, and one Daughter: Before he died he ſaw his Son overruled by his Favourite, againſt his determinate Will

A.D.1624 and Pleaſure, and the Prince's own Honour and Intereſt; which was a great Mortification to him, and which he often complained of, but had not Courage to redreſs; and ſo ſtrongly was this Favourite poſſeſſed of his Power over his Son, in the King's Life, that the Prince little regarded his Father's Precepts, or the Counſels of any elſe, after his Death; whereby he encreaſed the Internal Feuds, Jealouſies and Diſcords of the Nation, which ended in a ſad *Cataſtrophe*, both of the Favourite and the King.

At the King's Death, his Daughter, with her Husband, and her many Children, were driven into Exile and Poverty in the Dominion of the *Dutch States*, where they were more relieved by the *States*, the Prince of *Orange*, and ſome Biſhops and Noblemen of *England*, than by either of the Kings, Father, or Son.

A

DETECTION

OF THE

Court and State of ENGLAND,

During the Reign of

K. *CHARLES* I. &c.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

This Reign detected to the Diſſolution of the Parliament, Tertio Car.

THIS was a ſtrange Reign: As this King's Father's Reign was introduced with a horrible Plague, ſo was this with a greater, and ſuch as no Records of any Times before mention the like: The firſt fifteen Years of his Reign were perfectly *French*, and ſuch as never before were ſeen, or heard of in the *Engliſh* Nation: this brought on a miſerable *A. Reg.* 1.

A.D.1625 War in all the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and Deſtruction upon the King, when as it was not in the Power of thoſe which firſt raiſed the War againſt him to ſave his Life, which they would have done. *Nani*, in the ſixth Book of the Hiſtory of *Venice*, An. 1625. *f.* 221. obſerves, That after the Marriage of King *Charles* with the Daughter of *France*, the Intereſt of State, or rather the Paſſion of Favourites, converted the Bonds of Affection into Cauſes of Hatred: *Europe* in thoſe times reckon'd it amidſt its unhappy Deſtiny, that the Government of it fell upon three young Kings, yet in the Flower of their Age, Princes of great Power, deſirous of Glory, and in Intereſt contrary; but in this alone by *Genius* agreeing, that they committed the Burden of Affairs to the Will of their Miniſters: for with equal Independency, *France* was governed by *Richlieu*, *Spain* by *Olivares*, and *Great Britain* by *Buckingham*, confounding Affections with Intereſt, as well publick as private. Betwixt the Cardinal and *Buckingham* open Animoſities diſcovered themſelves, for Cauſes ſo much more unadviſed, as they were more hard to be known.

State of the Nation at King James's Death.

When King *James* died, the Nation was rent into four Parties, *viz.* The *Prerogative*, which exalted the King's divided Will from the Laws and Conſtitutions, above his *Royal and Legal* Will: The *Country*, or *Legal Party*, which ſtood for the Legal Eſtabliſhment of Church and State; and the *Puritan*, and *Popiſh Parties*. After the Treaties of Marriage between the Prince and the Daughters of *Spain* and *France*, the *Popiſh* and *Prerogative Parties* joined for carrying on the Court-Deſigns; and were oppoſed by the *Country* and *Puritan Parties*: and as the Prerogative and Popiſh Factions grew more inſolent, ſo the Puritan Party gathered Strength and Reputation among the Vulgar or ordinary People, inſomuch, that in Number they became more than all the other three. We ſhall take a better View of this Reign, if we look a little back into the former.

After the Treaty of the Match with *Spain* was broken off, King *James* was perplex'd what to do, he had neither Money nor Courage to make War for

for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; and the Wounds which he had given the laſt Parliament, by impriſoning their Members for adviſing him to make War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, were yet freſh and bleeding; and yet *Buckingham*, whom he durſt not offend, not content to ſatisfy his Spite againſt *Olivares*, by breaking off the Match, was, notwithſtanding all Difficulties, nay Impoſſibility of Succeſs, ſtill puſhing on the King to declare War againſt the King of *Spain*. *A. Reg.* 1.

The King thereupon referred this Buſineſs to my Lord Keeper *Williams*, my Lord Treaſurer *Cranfield*, the Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Carew*, and the Lord *Belfaſt*; who all agreed, that they could not ſay that the King of *Spain* had done the part of a Friend in the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, as he had profeſſed; nor could find that he had acted the Part of an Enemy declaredly, as the Duke objected: and indeed my Lord Keeper's Reaſons againſt the War governed all the reſt, that ſaw no Expediency for War upon the Grounds communicated by *Buckingham*. And 'twas more obſervable, that during the whole Treaty, while *Buckingham* was in *Spain*, the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* was never mentioned; and now he is come out of it, it muſt be the Cauſe of a War with the King of *Spain*. The Keeper's Reaſons were, *Upon whom ſhall we fall? Either upon the Emperor, or King of* Spain: *the Emperor had in a ſort offered the King his Son-in-law's Country again for Payment of a great Sum of Money, in recompence of Disburſments: but where was the Money to be had? yet it might be cheaper bought than conquered before a War was ended. For the King of* Spain, *he ſaw no Cauſe to aſſault him with Arms: He had held us indeed in a long Treaty to our Loſs, but he* [illegible] *from us; and was more likely to continue the State of Things in a State of Poſſibility of Accommodation, becauſe he diſliked the Duke of* Bavaria's *Ambition, and had rather ſtop the Enlargement of his Territories.*

The King embraced this Advice; nor did he ſtay here, but ſpake hardly of *Buckingham*, who would have put him upon making War upon the King of *Spain*; and the King's Cenſure upon him was ſo bitter,

*A.D.*1625. bitter, that it was fit to be caſt over-board in Silence.

This Reſolution of the Council was ſo little to the Duke's Satisfaction, that it made the Duke riſe up, and chafe againſt them from Room to Room, as a Hen that had loſt her Brood, and clucks up and down when ſhe has none to follow her: Nor did the Duke ſtop here, but notwithſtanding the fierce Anger of the King, and his not anſwering one of the Keeper's Reaſons, he appealed from the Judgment of the Council to the Parliament: Sure he durſt not have done this, if he had not been ſure of the Prince to ſecond him againſt the Opinion and Anger of his Father.

This was the third inexpiable Crime the Keeper had committed againſt the Duke: the firſt was his Advice to the Duke when he was in *Spain*, to hold a good Correſpondence with *Briſtol* and *Olivares*; but finding the contrary, by a Letter to the Duke of the 28th of *June*, and another of the 22d of *July*, where he in gentle manner informed the Duke, as from the King himſelf, how zealous the King was, not only of fair Terms between the Duke and Earl, but of a nearer Alliance. This was ſuch a piece of Impudence in the Keeper, that it removed the Duke's Affections from him for ever; nor could this State Miniſter contain his Diſpleaſure, but wrote to my Lord *Mandevile*, that the firſt Action he would imbark himſelf in, when he came home, ſhould be to remove the Keeper out of his Place. The next Crime of the Keeper, was, The Duke was afraid of his Wit.

However, this Counſel took ſuch Effect with King *James*, and he was ſo ſatisfied, that he had no colour of Title to make War againſt the King of *Spain*, that when the Parliament after gave him three Subſidies, and three Fifteenths, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; and when he had raiſed an Army of 10000 Foot and 2000 Horſe to be commanded by Count *Mansfield*, the King not only made it a Condition, that *Mansfield*, with the Army, ſhould not commit any Hoſtility againſt any of the *Dominions*, which by Right appertained to the King of *Spain*, or the *Infanta Iſabella*, Princeſs of the *Low Countries*; and in caſe he

he did ſo, from that time the King was not longer to continue Payment of the Army, but alſo took an Oath of *Mansfield* to obſerve the Conditions. So that how powerful ſoever the Duke was over King *James*, yet in none of theſe Particulars could he obtain his End. *A. Reg.* 1.

After the breaking of the *Spaniſh* Match, it was obſerved that King *James*'s Temper was quite ſo altered, that he forgot his Recreations of Hunting and Hawking, and in a Fit of Melancholy, told the Earl of *Carliſle*, that if he had ſent *Williams* into *Spain* with his Son, he had kept Hearts-eaſe and Honour, both which he wanted.

He then began to look back upon his former Actions, in having loſt the Affections of his Subjects; and now intangled in the Difficulties which he ſaw inevitably coming upon him, charged the Prince frequently, in the hearing of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, to call Parliaments often, and to continue them, tho' their Raſhneſs ſometimes did offend him: That in his own Experience he never got any Good by falling out with them.

How well King *Charles* obſerved his Father's Advice in any of theſe; nay, how diametrically he went contrary, and againſt all good Advice given him in the very firſt Year of his Reign, will ſoon appear, and the miſerable Effects which followed.

I have heard my Father (tho' not a Courtier, yet acquainted with many Courtiers) ſay, *That they would oft pray to God that the Prince might be in the right Way where he ſet, for if he were in the wrong, he would prove the moſt wilful of any King that ever reigned.*

Tho' all muſt ſtoop to mighty *Buckingham*, yet that he might ſtand ſurer, who muſt be his only Support but *Laud*, Biſhop of Saint *David*'s; who from picking Quarrels in Lectures at *Oxford*, and being an Informer before, now is become Vice-gerent to *Buckingham*? A Liſt of all the eminent Men for Promotion in the Church is given in; thoſe whom *Laud* would have promoted were noted (O) for *Orthodox*, and whom he liked not were marked (P) for *Puritans*: theſe two ſtopt up both the King's Ears from any other Doctrines in Church or State, but what was infuſed

A.D. 1625 infuſed by them. Before a Year goes about, you ſhall ſee *Buckingham* ſet the King at odds with the Parliament, and yet engage him in a War againſt *Spain*; and before another goes about, engage the King in another againſt *France*, to ſatiate his Spight and Revenge againſt *Richlieu*, for croſſing him in his Luſt; and after 13 Years, *Laud* ſhall be the Firebrand to ſet all the three Nations in the Flame of a *Civil War*, as King *James* had foretold.

The firſt Enterpriſe which the Duke engaged the King in, was not for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, as he pretended when he would have engaged King *James* in a War againſt the King of *Spain*, but to expreſs his Hatred againſt *Olivarès*; and therefore a Fleet muſt be rigged up, to make War in *Spain*, even when King *James*'s Corps lay unburied, and at ſo unſeaſonable a Time, when the Charges of King *James*'s Funeral were ſo faſt approaching, and when the Expences of the King's Ambaſſadors, the Earls of *Carliſle* and *Holland*, ran ſo high at *Paris*, to outvy the *French* Splendor, for ſolemnizing the Marriage between the King and the Queen; and theſe ſo much more augmented, by the Duke's Preparations to fetch the Queen over, which, when the Duke ſhall come to *Paris*, muſt outſhine not only the Bravery of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, but all that Cardinal *Richlieu* could do.

From the Unſeaſonableneſs of this Expedition, let's ſee by what Counſels *Buckingham* managed this deſigned Expedition; and herein take Light from a Letter which my Lord *Cromwell* wrote to the Duke.

Lord Cromwell's Letter to Buckingham about the Expedition againſt Spain.

THey offer to lay Wagers the Fleet goes not this Year, and that of neceſſity ſhortly a Parliament muſt be; which, when it comes, ſure it will much diſcontent you. It's wonder'd at, that ſince the King did give ſuch great Gifts to the Dutcheſs of Chevereux, *and thoſe that went, how now a ſmall Sum in the Parliament ſhould be called for at ſuch a Time; and let the Parliament ſit when it will, begin they will where they ended. They ſay, the Lords of the Council knew nothing of* Mansfield's *Journey, or this Fleet, which diſcontents even the beſt ſort, if not all. They ſay, it is a very great Burden your Grace takes upon you, ſince none know*

know any thing but you. It's conceived, that not letting others bear part of the Burden you now bear, it may ruin you, (which Heavens forbid). Much Diſcourſe there is of your Lordſhip, here and there, as I paſſed home and back; and nothing is more wonder'd at, than that one grave Man is not known to have your Ear, except my Good and Noble Lord Conway. *All Men ſay, if you go not with the Fleet, you will ſuffer in it; becauſe if it proſper, it will be thought no Act of yours; and if it ſucceed ill, it might have been better if you had not guided the King. They ſay, your Undertakings in this Kingdom will much prejudice your Grace; and if God bleſs you not with Goodneſs, to accept kindly what in Duty and Love I offer, queſtionleſs my Freedom of letting you know the Diſcourſe of the World, may prejudice me. But if I muſt loſe your Favour, I had rather loſe it for ſtriving to do you good, in letting you know the Talk of the wicked World, than for any thing elſe; ſo much I heartily deſire your Proſperity, and to ſee you trample the ignorant Multitude under foot. All I have ſaid is the Diſcourſe of this World; and when I am able to judge of Actions, I will freely tell your Lordſhip my Mind, which when it ſhall not always incline to ſerve you, may all my noble Thoughts forſake me.* The Succeſs of this Expedition you will hear ſoon. A. Reg. 1.

Thus was the King of *Spain* requited for all the noble Favours he had ſhewn the King when he was in *Spain*. This was the Return of *Buckingham*'s Proteſtation to the King of *Spain*, when they parted at the *Eſcurial*, [That he would be an everlaſting Servant to the King of *Spain*, the Queen, and the *Infanta*, and would do the beſt Offices he could for concluding the Buſineſs (the Match between the Prince and *Infanta*) and ſtrengthen the Amity between the two Kingdoms] to have War made upon him, without any Declaration of it by King *Charles*, ſo ſoon as it came in his Power to do it. After *Buckingham* became Lord Admiral, the *Engliſh* Navy lay at Road unarm'd, and fit for Ruin. This was before the Treaty of the *Spaniſh* Match; and after the breaking of the *Spaniſh* Match, the Duke not only neglected the guarding of the Seas, whereby the Trade of the Nation not only decayed, but the Seas became

A.D.1625 became ignominiouſly infeſted by Pyrates and Enemies, to the Loſs of very many of the Merchants and Subjects of *England*.

Objection. But this was but an Accuſation, and therefore it does not amount to a Proof.

It ought not to be preſumed, the Commons would have charged this upon him without Proof; and I ſay it is ſtrong Proof upon the Duke, ſince the King diſſolved the Parliament rather than the Duke ſhould come to a Trial upon it.

However, the Navy lay thus neglected, and Seas unguarded; and tho' the *French* had broken the Treaty of Marriage with *France*, by not ſuffering *Mansfield* to land his Army at *Calais*, yet the ſupplying the *French* with a Fleet to ſubdue the *Rochellers*, muſt be performed: And to this end, even whilſt King *James* lay unburied, great Conſultation between the Duke and the Marquis of *Effiat* was had, how it might be done. The King had no Men of War ready, but the *Vaunt-Guard*; and the *French* Neceſſities were urgent, for all this while *Sobiez* rode triumphant at Sea, the *French* not being able to encounter him; and thereby *Rochel* upon all Occaſions was relieved by Sea.

However, the *French* muſt be gratified: The Duke therefore, by his Power of Lord Admiral, beſides the *Vaunt-Guard*, preſſed Seven Ships, of the Merchants of *England*, into the King's Service; *viz.* The Great *Neptune*, whereof Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* was Captain; the *Induſtry*, 450 Tuns, whereof *James Moyer* was Captain; the *Pearl*, of 540 Tuns, whereof *Anthony Tench* was Captain; the *Marigold*, of 300 Tuns, whereof *Thomas Davis* was Captain; the *Loyalty*, of 300 Tuns, *Jaſper Dare* Captain; the *Peter and John*, of 300 Tuns, *John Davis* Captain; and *7thly*, the *Gift of God*, *Henry Lewen* Captain.

Engliſh aſſiſt the French againſt the Rochellers.

The Duke, tho' the Navy were unprovided with Stores and Ammunition, could find Stores and Ammunition ſufficient for furniſhing this Fleet; and upon the 8th of *May* cauſed a Warrant under the Great Seal to be iſſued, to call the Companies aboard which had been raiſed for the *French* Service, with the firſt Opportunity to go to ſuch a Port as the *French* Ambaſſador ſhould direct, and there to expect Orders.

But

But ſee the Diſſimulation and Hypocriſy of the Duke and *French* Ambaſſador *d'Effiat*; for all this while they gave out, that this Fleet ſhould not be employed againſt the *Rochellers*, but againſt *Genoua*, and that Vice-Admiral *Pennington* ſhould not take in any more *French* into any of the Ships of this Fleet, than the *Engliſh* could maſter. But when the Fleet arrived at *Diep*, the Duke of *Momerancy*, Admiral of *France*, would have put 200 Men into the *Induſtry*, and offered the like to every one of the other Ships, telling them, they were to fight againſt the City and Inhabitants of *Rochel*; with a Proffer of Chains of Gold, and other Rewards, to all thoſe Captains, Maſters, and Owners, which ſhould go in this Service; which they all, with one Conſent rejected, and ſubſcribed their Names to a Petition to *Pennington* againſt it; ſo *Pennington*, with the whole Fleet, returned into the *Downs*, and from the *Downs Pennington* wrote a Letter to the Duke, by one *Ingram*, who ſaw the Duke read it, together with the laſt Petition, and by *Ingram*, *Pennington* became a Suitor to the Duke to be diſcharged of this Employment. *A. Reg.* 1.

This put the Duke and *French* Agents to their Trumps, and tho' all theſe Tranſactions were concealed from the King and Council, yet the Proteſtants in *France* had got Knowledge of the Deſign, and the Duke of *Rohan*, and Proteſtants of *France*, by Monſieur *de la Touche*, ſolicited the King againſt it, and had good Words and Hopes: But *Buckingham* told *de la Touche*, the King his Maſter was obliged, and ſo the Ships muſt and ſhould go. But there was another Obſtacle to be removed. The Duke had impreſt and hired the ſeven Merchants Ships upon the King of *England*'s Account, and for his Service, and ſo they could not be paſſed into the *French* Hands, without a new Agreement with the Owners: Hereupon his Grace was pleaſed to take a Journey to *Rocheſter*, to ſettle the Agreement, which muſt be as the *French* Ambaſſadors would, whether the Owners of the Ships would or not. I will be particular herein, not only to ſhew what a Miniſter of State *Buckingham* was, or what Reliance there was upon his Word or Honour, but more eſpecially, for that

A.D.1625 that the Ruin not only of the whole Intereſt of the Reformed of *France* was a Conſequence of this Action, wherein the Mercenary *Dutch* State conſpired alſo with the Duke; but it was the Foundation upon which the *French* Naval Grandeur was built, as well to the Terror of *Chriſtendom*, as of *England* at this very Day.

My Lord *Conway* was the Duke's *Nanny*, and tho' principal Miniſter of State by the Duke's Promotion, made the Office to bend which way ſoever the Duke nodded: *Conway* directed a Letter upon the 10th of *July* 1625, as from the King, to Vice-Admiral *Pennington*, whereby he took upon him to expreſs and ſignify to him, that his Maſter had left the Command of the Ships to the *French* King, and that *Pennington* ſhould receive into them ſo many Men as the *French* pleaſed, for the time contracted for (*viz.* ſix Months, but not to exceeed eighteen) and recommended his Letter ſhould be his ſufficient Warrant. This was delivered by one *Parker* to *Pennington* in the *Downs*; and the *Engliſh* Merchants had conſtituted one *James Moyer* and *Anthony Touchin* to treat with the *French* Ambaſſadors (which were the Duke of *Chevereux*, Monſieur *Vollocleer*, and the Marqueſs of *Effiat*); and at *Rocheſter*, the Duke ſent back a Letter to *Moyer* and *Touchin*, to come and treat with the *French* Ambaſſadors, to ſettle Buſineſs about the Delivery up of their Ships and Freights, into the Power of the *French* King, and ſo the Propoſals made to *Moyer* and *Touchin*, were theſe:

1. That the *Engliſh* Captains, and their Companies, ſhould Conſent and Promiſe to ſerve the *French* King againſt all, none excepted but the King of *Great Britain*, in Conformity to the Contract formerly paſſed between *D'Effiat* and them. 2. That they ſhould conſent and agree, in conſideration of the Aſſurance given them by the Ambaſſadors, to the Articles of the 25th of *March* before, (which you may read in *Ruſhworth*, *fol.* 328.) whereby the *French* King ſhould be Maſter of the ſaid Ships by indifferent Inventory, and that they, by him, ſhould

ſhould be warranted againſt all Hazards and Sea-fights; and if they miſcarried, then the Value of them to be paid by the *French* King, who would alſo confirm this new Propoſition within fifteen Days after the Ships ſhould be delivered to his Uſe, by good Caution in *London*. 3. That if the *French* King would take any Men out of the Ships, he might; but without any Diminution to the Fraight for or in reſpect thereof. *A. Rep. 1.*

To theſe, *Moyer*, in the behalf of the Merchants, anſwered, 1. That their Ships ſhould not go to ſerve againſt *Rochel*. 2. That they would not ſend their Ships without good Warrants. 3. Nor without ſufficient Security, to their liking, for the Payment of their Freight, and Rendition of their Ships, or the Value thereof: for the Ambaſſadors Security was by them taken not to be ſufficient, and they proteſted againſt it, and utterly refuſed the *peraffetted Inſtrument*. Hereupon Sir *John Epſtey* and Sir *Tho: Dove* diſſwaded the Duke from this Enterprize, telling him, he could not juſtify nor anſwer the Delivery of the Ships.

However, *Buckingham*'s Dictatorſhip would not admit of Juſtice or Reaſon, but he commanded *Moyer*, and the reſt, that they ſhould obey *Conway*'s Letter, and return to *Diep*, to ſerve the *French*, and that ſo was the King's Pleaſure, (tho' the King told the Duke of *Rohan*'s Agent, *de la Touche*, otherwiſe); yet privately, at the ſame time, the Duke told them, that the Security offered by the Ambaſſadors was ſufficient, and that tho' they went to *Diep*, they might, and then ſhould keep their Ships in their own Power till they had made their own Conditions.

Hereupon the Ambaſſadors, the Duke of *Chevereuſe* and *Vollocleer* conſtituted *D'Effiat* their Deputy, to treat with the Merchants at *Diep* for the Delivery of their Ships into the *French* Power; but with him the Duke ſent Mr. *Edward Nicholas*, his Secretary, with Inſtructions, by word of Mouth, to execute the King's Pleaſure by my Lord *Conway*'s Letter, for putting the Merchants Ships into the *French* Power,

A.D. 1625 upon the Conditions peraffetted at *Rocheſter* by the three *French* Ambaſſadors. But the Captains of the Ships refuſed to ſubmit to the Conditions, tho' *Nicholas*, in the King's Name, from Day to Day threatned them, and vehemently preſſed them to deliver up their Ships upon the former Propoſitions.

Hereupon *D'Effiat* entred into a new Treaty with the Merchants, and like a *French* Merchant, got Letters to be ſent into *England*, that the Peace was concluded with thoſe of the Religion in *France*, and that within fourteen Days the War ſhould break out in *Italy*, with a Deſign upon *Genoua*, a matter of great Importance againſt the *Spaniard*. Hereupon, the Duke procured the King to write a Letter to *Pennington*, dated *July* 28. to this effect:

King's Letter to Penning-ton.

HIS Majeſty did thereby charge and command Captain Pennington, *without delay, to put his Highneſs's former Command in Execution, for conſigning the* Vaunt-Guard *into the Hands of the Marqueſs* D'Effiat *for the* French, *with all her Furniture, aſſuring her Officers, his Majeſty would provide for their Indemnity: And to require the other ſeven Ships, in his Majeſty's Name, to put themſelves into the Service of the* French *King, according to the Promiſe his Majeſty had made to him: And in caſe of Backwardneſs or Refuſal, commanding him to uſe all forcible means to compel them, even to ſinking; with a Charge not to fail; and this Letter to be his Warrant.*

This Letter being delivered to *Pennington* in the beginning of *Auguſt*, he went back out of the *Downs*, carrying the ſame with him, and certain Inſtructions in Writing from the Duke to *Nicholas*: And about the time *Pennington* returned to *Diep*, *Nicholas* threatned the Captains of the Ships, and told them, it was as much as their Lives were worth, if they deliver'd not up their Ships to the *French*; whereupon ſome of them would have come away, and left their Ships, and fled into *Holland*. *Pennington* coming to *Diep*, delivered the *Van-Guard* abſolutely into the *French* Power, and acquainted the reſt of the Captains with the King's Command, which they all refuſed

refuſed to obey, unleſs they might have good Security for the Delivery of their Ships, or Satisfaction for them. *A. Reg.* 15

Hereupon *Pennington* went on Shore, and ſpoke with *D'Effiat*; and upon his Return told the Captains, they muſt rely upon the Security preaffetted in *England*; whereupon the Captains weighed Anchor, and prepared to be gone; upon which Captain *Pennington* ſhot at them, and forced them all to come to an Anchor again, except the brave Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* in the *Neptune*, more brave in running away from this abominable Action, than charging into the midſt of an Enemy.

When the Captains came a-ſhore, they ſpoke with *Nicholas*, who enforced them to come to a new Agreement, and to deliver up their Ships to the *French*; but not one of them would take the *French* Pay in the Expedition, but one Gunner; who was at his Return kill'd in charging of a Cannon; and *Nicholas* had a Diamond Ring, and a Hat-band ſet with Diamond Sparks, given him by the *French* Ambaſſador; for his Pains taken in this noble Employment.

This was the ſecond noble Deſign of this grand Miniſter of State *Buckingham*, whilſt King *James* lay unburied: we will now proceed to the third; wherein you'll ſee how well *Richlieu* requited *Buckingham*'s Service, in accommodating the *French* with a Fleet to ſubdue the *Rochellers*.

Tho' the Duke did not perſonally manage the Treaty of the *French* Marriage at *Paris*, yet none but he, now the Treaty was conſummate, and ſo firmly performed on the *Engliſh* part, muſt fetch the Queen over: and when all the mighty Preparations for the Magnificence of this mighty Duke were compleated, away he hies to *Paris*, where he arrived the 24th of *May*, and there he ſtaid the full term of ſeven Days, wherein he performed more wonderful Exploits, than he had done in ſo many Months before at *Madrid*: And theſe we will take from *Nani*'s own Words.

Buckingham's Conduct in France.

Buckingham *being in* France *to carry back* Charles's Bride, *it ſeemed, that in the free Converſations of that Court, he had taken the Boldneſs to diſcover ſomething of* [illegible] *his*

A.D.1625 *his Inclination to the Queen, whilſt the Cardinal was inflamed with the ſame Paſſion, or rather feigned to be ſo with Averſion in her, who with Virtue equal to the Nobleneſs of Blood, equally deſpiſed the Vanity of the one, and abhorred the Artifices of the other:* (I think *Nani* herein was miſtaken, as will ſoon appear.) *Whereupon the Factions ariſing among the Ladies of the Court were not ſo ſecret, but the King was obliged to make a Noiſe, and baniſh ſome, but the Contention between the two Favourites was for Power, and* Richlieu, *who by reaſon of the Favour of the King in his own Kingdom prevailed in Authority, procured* Buckingham *many Mortifications and Diſguſts: The other was no ſooner arrived at* London *with the Bride, but to make a ſhew of Power not inferiour, by ill uſing her, thought to revenge himſelf. The Catholick Religion ſerved for a Pretext, whilſt the Family brought out of* France, *according to Contract of Marriage, practiſed it: whence Diſguſts brake forth to ſuch a Degree, that the Minds of the Spouſes being alienated, and Affections between the Crowns themſelves diſturbed, it looked as if Diſcord had been the Bride-maid at that Wedding.* You'll hear more of this hereafter.

It's obſervable, when Humour, not Counſel, governs Actions, how it runs into the contrary Extreams. King *James*, in Confidence of being ſupplied of all his Wants by the *Spaniſh* Match, in great Diſpleaſure broke up the Parliament in the 18th Year of his Reign, and impriſoned many of the Members, for preſuming to adviſe him againſt it. This King expected the Parliament ſhould make good all the Duke's Extravagancies, for the Tale he told in Parliament, for breaking off the *Spaniſh* Match: And ſo confidently was he poſſeſs'd that that Parliament continued in the ſame Mood, that I have heard one of Sir *Edward Coke*'s Sons ſay, that tho' when King *Charles* came to the Crown Sir *Edward* would have waited upon him in Teſtimony of his Duty and Service, the King would not admit him into his Preſence, yet ſent to know of him, whether he might continue this Parliament, notwithſtanding the King's Death; which Sir *Edward* ſaid could not be, for that upon the King's Death the

the Diſſolution followed: yet upon the Election not ten of the old ſurviving Members but were choſen again. This Parliament met upon the 18th of *June* 1625. where the King laid open to them, that the Buſineſs he called them for, was, that whereas they had adviſed him to break off the two Treaties, which were for the *Spaniſh* Match, and Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and that his Father being thereby engaged in a War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, they would now aſſiſt him in the carrying of it on. The Commons, before they enter'd upon Grievances, Sir *Edward Coke* moving it, to ingratiate themſelves with the King, voted him two entire Subſidies; and the laſt Parliament, but the Summer before, gave his Father three Subſidies and three Fifteenths, which were more than ever any Parliament granted the King in threefold the time before. But that we may better look forward, look a little back. *A. Reg.* 1.

King *James* upon the Breach of the *Spaniſh* Match, put forth a Proclamation for putting the Laws in Execution againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*; but upon the firſt of *May*, King *Charles* ſent a Warrant to my Lord Keeper *Williams* to ſuſpend them.

Charles Rex,

Right Reverend, and Right Truſty, &c. *Whereas we have been moved, in Contemplation of our Marriage with the Lady* Mary, *Siſter of Our dear Brother, the* Moſt Chriſtian King, *to grant to Our Subjects,* Roman Catholicks, *a Ceſſation of all and ſingular Pains and Penalties, as well Corporal as Pecuniary, whereunto they be ſubject, or any ways may be liable by any Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, or any thing whatſoever, or for or by reaſon of their Recuſancy or Religion, in every Matter or thing concerning the ſame: Our Will and Pleaſure is, and we do by theſe Preſents authorize and require you upon the Receipt hereof, That immediately you do give Warrants, Orders and Directions, as well unto all our Commiſſioners, Judges, and Juſtices of the Peace, as alſo unto all other our Officers and Miniſters, as well Spiritual as Temporal, reſpectively to whom it may appertain, that they, and every of them do*

A. D. 1625 *forbear all, and all manner, and cauſe to be forborn all manner of Proceedings againſt our ſaid Subjects* Roman Catholicks, *and every of them, as well by Information, Preſentment, Indictment, Conviction, Proceſs, Seizure, Diſtreſs, or Impriſonment, or any other Ways and Means whatſoever, whereby they may be moleſted for the Cauſes aforeſaid. And further alſo, That for time to come, you take notice of, and ſpeedily redreſs all Cauſes and Complaints, for or by Reaſon of any thing done contrary to this our Will: and this ſhall be unto you, and to all to whom you ſhall give ſuch Warrant, Order or Direction, ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge.* This is ſo much more remarkable, that this Warrant was granted when *Buckingham* was ſo buſy in ſetting out the Fleet againſt the *Rochellers*. Here was a Suſpenſion of the Laws with a Witneſs, by the King's abſolute Will and Pleaſure, notwithſtanding all the Officers by Law were under the Obligations of their Oaths to the contrary; and for the Firſt-Fruits of this Warrant the King granted upon the 10th of *May*, a ſpecial Pardon to twenty *Roman* Prieſts, of all Offences committed by them againſt the Laws.

Can any Man now believe, that the Parliament 18th *Jac.* ſhould be ſo jealous, that the *Spaniſh* Match would be a Door to let in a Toleration of *Popery*, and therefore adviſed the King to break off the Match with *Spain*; and yet this Parliament ſhould be ſo purblind, as not to ſee this put in Execution, at the Inſtance of the *French* in this King's Reign; eſpecially whenas the *Spaniards* (unleſs in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*) were the *Engliſh* Friends and Allies, and with whom the *Engliſh* had a moſt beneficial and gainful Trade for 22 Years in King *James*'s Reign, whereby they became doubly more enriched, than in the 44 Years Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; whereas the *French*, as they were a Neighbouring Nation, were ever faithleſs and Enemies to the *Engliſh* Nation, and with whom it always had a Trade to the *Engliſh* Loſs, as much to the enriching *France*, as to the impoveriſhing the *Engliſh*?

Hereupon the Commons ſent Sir *Edward Coke* with a Meſſage to the Lords, to deſire their Concurrence in a Petition to the King againſt Recuſants, which was agreed

agreed to, and preſented to the King, who anſwered, *That he was glad the Parliament were ſo forward for Reli-* [illegible] *and aſſured them, they ſhould find him as forward; that their Petition being long, could not be preſently anſwered.* A. Reg. 1.

Nor were the Commons leſs alarmed, at the countenancing the *Arminian* Sect, whoſe Tenets, next to *Laud*, Mr. *Richard Montague* propagated; and about the latter end of King *James's* Reign, publiſhed a Book, entituled, *A new Gag for an old Gooſe*; which the Parliament took notice of, and referred to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who diſallowed it, and ſought to ſuppreſs it, and ended in an Admonition given to *Montague*; But after King *James's* his Death, who was an Enemy to theſe Tenets, *Montague* then printed it again, and dedicated it to King *Charles*, now *Buckingham* and *Laud* ruled all. Hereupon the Commons brought *Montague* to the Bar of their Houſe, and appointed a Committee to examine the Errors therein, and gave Thanks to the Archbiſhop for the Admonition to *Montague*, whoſe Books they voted to be contrary to the Articles eſtabliſhed in the Parliament, to tend to the King's Diſhonour, and Diſturbance of the Church and State, and took Bond of *Montague* for his Appearance. *Parliament's Proceedings againſt Dr. Montague.*

But the King intimated to the Houſe, that the Things determined concerning *Montague* without his Privity, did not pleaſe him, for he was his Servant and Chaplain in ordinary; and that he had taken the Buſineſs into his own Hands; whereat the Commons ſeemed much diſpleaſed.

This was the firſt Breach between the King and Commons; and here let's ſee what haſty Steps *Laud* took to fulfil King *James's* Prophecy of him, in making Diſſentions, and to be a Fire-brand to ſet the Nation on Fire, by fomenting and exaſperating the Factions in it. In this Act of *Montague*, you may obſerve a twofold Crime: Firſt his Contempt and Diſobedience to the Church of *England*, (which *Laud* pretended ſo much to exalt) and to the Parliament, that his Book being queſtioned in Parliament, and by the Commons committed to the Archbiſhop, who not only diſallowed and ſuppreſſed it; but

A.D.1625. *Montague* being admoniſhed againſt it, he ſhould upon King *James*'s Death preſume to reprint it in Defiance to the Metropolitan of *England*, contrary to his Canonical Obedience, and to the Commons; thereby to make a Diſſention between the King and them. And ſecondly, his being ſo audacious, as to dedicate it to the King, thereby to engage the King in Defence of his Arrogance and Diſobedience; and for a Reward of this ſpecial Piece of Service, before King *James* was two Months dead, to be made the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, to be thereby protected from Juſtice.

But if it be asked how it does appear, that *Laud* was concerned in this Act and Promotion of *Montague*; I anſwer, there is a threefold Reaſon to induce the Belief of it: Firſt, the end for which this Book was wrote, for Promotion of *Arminian* Tenets, whereof *Laud* was ſo great a Stickler. Secondly, None elſe but *Laud* could have ſuch an Aſcendant in Things of this kind, and to cauſe ſo early a Promotion for ſuch a Piece of Service: But, Thirdly, which clears the Queſtion; when the King's Neceſſities cauſed him to call another Parliament, about ſix or ſeven Months after, *Laud* fearing the Commons falling again upon *Montague*, as they did, *Laud* ſounded the King by *Buckingham*, whether the King would leave *Montague* to the Parliament; and finding the King determined to do it, in great Zeal, ſaid, *I ſeem to ſee a Cloud ariſing and threatning the Church of* England, *God in his Mercy diſſipate it.*

If *Laud* was the firſt that ſowed Diſſention between the King and Parliament upon the Pretence of the Church of *England*, *Buckingham* ſhall be the ſecond, upon the Account of the Church of *Rome*; and herein you'll ſee the Temper of *Buckingham* to any which ſhould preſume to give him good Counſel.

The Diſſention between the King and Commons began with *Montague* at *London*, where the Plague then raged, and all *England* over, ſo that moſt of the Members ſhrunk away, to flee the Danger of it, and thoſe that ſtaid were in danger of their Lives: This put the King into a marvellous Strait what to do, for his

his Neceſſities, as *Buckingham* managed Affairs, and his being imbroiled in the *Spaniſh* War, were ſuch as the Subſidies granted the King his Father the laſt Year, and thoſe granted the King now, could not ſupport. Hereupon the King, in Council, at *Hampton-Court*, propoſed upon the 10th of *July* to adjourn the Parliament to *Oxford*, which was mainly favoured by the Duke: My Lord Keeper *Williams* oppoſed the Propoſition for two Reaſons: Firſt, That the Infection had overſpread the whole Land, ſo that no Man that travelled from his own Home, knew where to lodge in Safety; that the Lords and Gentlemen would be ſo diſtaſted to be carried abroad in ſo mortal a Time, that it's likely when they came together, they would vote out of Diſcontent and Diſpleaſure, that his Majeſty was ill counſelled to give Offences in the Bud of his Reign, tho' ſmall ones. Secondly, the Parliament had given two Subſidies at *Weſtminſter*, tho' they removed to *Oxford*, it is yet the ſame Seſſions; and if they alledge, it is not the Uſe of the Houſe to give twice in a Seſſions, yet how ſhall we plead them out of Cuſtom, if they be ſtiff to maintain it? It is not fit for the Reputation of the King, to fall upon a probable Hazard of a Denial. The Duke, which heard this with Impatience, ſaid, *That publick Neceſſity muſt ſway more than one Man's Jealouſy.*

A. Reg. 1. *Plague at London.*

The Keeper hereupon beſought the King to hear him in private, and acquainted the King, *That the Duke had Enemies in the Houſe of Commons, who had contrived Complaints, and made them ready to be preferred, and would ſpend Time at* Oxford *about them. And what Folly were it to continue a Seſſions that had no other Aim, but to bring the Duke upon the Stage? But if your Majeſty think that this is like a Hectick, quickly known, but hardly cured; my humble Opinion is, That the Malady or Malice, call it what you will, may ſleep awhile after* Chriſtmas; *there is no Time loſt in whetting the Sithe well. I hope to give an Account by that Time, by undertaking with the chief Sticklers, that they ſhall ſuperſede their Bitterneſs againſt your great Servant, and that Paſſage to your weighty Counſels may be made ſmooth and peaceable.*

But

A.D.1625 *But why*, ſaid the King, *do you conceal this from* Buckingham? *Good Sir*, ſaid the Keeper, *fain would I begin at that End, but he will not hear me with Moderation.* And becauſe it was the Miſhap of the Keeper to give the firſt Notice of this Storm that was gathering, the Duke in Defiance *bid him and his Confederates do their worſt*, and beſought the King, that the Parliament might be continued, and he would confront the Faction, tho' he looked upon himſelf in that Innocency that he preſumed they durſt not queſtion him.

Parliament removed to Oxford. *Buckingham's* Will muſt be a Law; ſo on the 10th of *July* the Parliament was adjourned to *Oxford*, to meet the firſt of *Auguſt*: But, to ſweeten them, the Keeper in the King's Name, promiſed them, That the Rigour of the Law againſt Popiſh Prieſts ſhould not be deluded: Here ſee the Levity of the King and the Dominion *Buckingham* had over him; for upon the 12th of *July* the King cauſed a Warrant to be ſealed to pardon ſix *Roman* Prieſts. When the Parliament met, the Speaker had no ſooner taken his Chair, but a *Weſtern* Knight enlarges the Senſe of his Sorrow, that he had ſeen a Pardon for ſix Prieſts bearing teſt *July* the 12th, whereas but the Day before it, when they were to part from *Weſtminſter*, the Lord Keeper had promiſed in the King's Name, before them all, that the Rigour againſt the Prieſts ſhould not be deluded: Hereupon the Members were in ſuch a Heat, that they ſtrived who ſhould blame it moſt: What! their Hopes baffled in one Night! But for the Lord Keeper that brought the King's Meſſage, and knew it beſt, and for a Biſhop to ſet the Seal to ſuch a Warrant, for him to do wrong to Religion, it was enormous. Hereupon *Bembo*, a Servant to the Clerk of the Crown, confeſs'd he brought the Writ to the Keeper to be ſealed, but it was Hope; Mr. *Devile*, Servant to Sir *Edward Conway*, brought it from his Maſter, but it could not ſpeed. It was my Lord of *Buckingham's* hard Hap to move the King to command the Warrant to be ſealed, in his Sight, at *Hampton-Court* the *Sunday* following. The Commons hereupon turned about to clear the Keeper, and commend him; but what pleaſed the Parliament

at

at *Oxford* did not pleaſe the Court at *Woodſtock*, where this had not pleaſed the King. *A. Reg.* 1.

The Commons in this Heat deſired a Conference with the Lords in *Chriſt's-Church-Hall* in the Afternoon, where Sir *Edward Coke* open'd the Complaint ſharply againſt my Lord *Conway*, and like an *Orator* did ſlide away with a ſhort *Animadverſion* upon the Duke; the Commons enlarged hereon, that the Duke that put the King upon this, was the higheſt in the King's Favour; and that all the important Places of Honour, and Offices, by Sea and Land, were in his Diſpoſal.

The Lord Keeper at *Woodſtock* was cenſured by the Duke and his Creatures for this; the Lord Keeper therefore unſent for, comes to *Woodſtock*, and thus applies himſelf to the Duke.

My Lord, I am come unſent for, and I fear to diſpleaſe you: yet becauſe your Grace made me, I muſt and will ſerve you; though you are one that will deſtroy that which you made, let me periſh: yet I deſerve to periſh ten Times, if I were not as earneſt as any Friend your Grace hath, to ſave you from periſhing. The Sword is the Cauſe of a Wound, but the Buckler is in fault if it do not defend the Body. You brought the two Houſes hither, my Lord, againſt my Counſel; my Suſpicion is confirmed that your Grace will ſuffer for it. What's now to be done, but to wind up a Seſſion quickly? The Occaſion is for you, becauſe two Colleges in the Univerſity, and eight Houſes in the Town are viſited with the Plague. Let the Members be promiſed fairly and friendly, that they may meet again after Chriſtmas; *requite the Injuries done to you with Benefits, not Revenge, for no Man that is wiſe will ſhew himſelf angry with the People of* England. *I have more to ſay, but no more than I have ſaid to your Grace above a Year paſt at* White-Hall; *conſider one or two of your great Places upon your faſteſt Friends, ſo ſhall you go leſs in Envy, and not leſs in Power. Great Neceſſities will excuſe hard Propoſals and horrid Counſels: St.* Auſtin *ſays it was a Punick Proverb in his Country,* Ut habeas quietum tempus perde aliquid. *At the Cloſe of the Seſſions declare your ſelf to be forwardeſt to ſave the King and Commonwealth, and to give the Parliament Satisfaction. Fear them not when they meet again* Lord Keeper Williams's Application to Buckingham.

A.D.1625 *in the ſame Body, whoſe ill Affections I expect to mitigate; but if you proceed, truſt me with your Cauſe in the Houſe of Lords, and I will lay my Life upon it, I will preſerve you from Sentence, or the leaſt Diſhonour. This is my Advice, my Lord; if you like it not, Truth in the end will find an Advocate to defend it.* The Duke replied no more but, *I will look to whom I truſt*, and flung out of the Chamber with Menaces in his Countenance.

Mr. *Ruſhworth*, *fol.* 202. ſays, that the Keeper told the Duke in *Chriſt-Church*, when the Duke rebuked him for ſiding againſt him, in that he engaged with *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, to labour the Redreſs of Grievances, *That he was reſolved to ſtand upon his own Legs*; and that the Duke ſhould anſwer, *If that be your Reſolution, look you ſtand faſt.* Where Mr. *Ruſhworth* had this, I cannot tell: but this being ſo unlike the Keeper's Carriage to the Duke, both in King *James*'s time and after, and alſo to the Narrative before ſet forth by the Biſhop of *Litchfield*, who being the Keeper's Chaplain, could have a better Inſpection herein than Mr. *Ruſhworth* could have had; but eſpecially ſince the Reaſons which the Keeper put into the King's Hands, which you may read in the Life of the Keeper, *par.* 2. *tit.* 18. to ſatisfy the King of his Carriage while the Parliament ſate at *Oxford*, being ſo contrary to what Mr. *Ruſhworth* ſays, I rather incline to believe the Biſhop.

However, the Commons preſuming to enquire into *Buckingham*'s Actions, are cenſured at *Woodſtock* for ſpiteful and ſeditious, and therefore not fit to continue, but to be diſſolved; which being underſtood by the Keeper, with Tears and Supplications he implored the King to conſider, there was a time when his Father charged him, in the Keeper's Hearing, to call Parliaments often, and to continue them, though their Raſhneſs might ſometimes offend him; that by his own Experience, he never got good by falling out with them. But chiefly, Sir, ſaid he, let it never be ſaid that you kept not good Correſpondence with your firſt Parliament; do not diſſeminate ſo much Unkindneſs through all the Counties and Boroughs of your Realm; The Love

of

of your People is the *Palladium* of your Crown. Continue this Aſſembly together to another Seſſion, and expect Alteration for the better; if you do not, the next Swarm will come out of the ſame Hive. *A. Reg.* 1.

The Lords of the Council did almoſt all concur with the Keeper, but it wanted *Buckingham's* Suffrage, who was ſecure that the King's Judgment would follow him againſt all the Table. Thus far the Biſhop. But there was another Cauſe for the haſty Diſſolution of this Parliament. Captain *Pennington* was come to *Oxford* from delivering the Fleet into the *French* Power, to give an Account of the Reaſon of it; but by the Duke's means was drawn to conceal himſelf, and not to publiſh in due time his Knowledge of the Premiſes, as it ſhortly after appeared; and if this ſhould have been made known, it would not have been in the Power of the Keeper to have brought off the Duke from Sentence, or the leaſt Diſhonour: ſo upon the 12th of *Auguſt* the Parliament was diſſolved; but before their Diſſolution, the Commons made this folllowing Declaration. *Parliament diſſolved.*

WE the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, being the Repreſentative Body of the whole Commons of this Realm, abundantly comforted in his Majeſty's late gracious Anſwer touching our Religion, and his Meſſage for the Care of our Health, do ſolemnly vow and proteſt, before God and the World, with one Heart and Voice, that we are reſolved, and do hereby declare, that we will ever continue moſt Loyal and Obedient Subjects to our moſt Gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles; *and that we will in a convenient time, and in a Parliamentary way, freely and dutifully do our utmoſt Endeavours to diſcover and reform the Abuſes and Grievances of this Realm and State, and in like ſort to afford all neceſſary Supply to his moſt excellent Majeſty upon his preſent Occaſions and Deſigns: Moſt humbly beſeeching our ſaid dear and dread Sovereign in his Princely Wiſdom and Goodneſs, to reſt aſſured of the true and hearty Affections of his poor Commons; and to eſteem the ſame to be (as we conceive it is indeed) the greateſt worldly Reputation and Security that a juſt King can have; and to account all* *Commons Declaration before it.*

ſuch

A.D.1625 *ſuch as Slanderers of the Peoples Affections, and Enemies to the Commonwealth, that ſhall dare ſay the contrary.* But the mighty *Buckingham* ſhall not only dare to ſay, but dare to do the contrary: ſo much eaſier is it, in ſuch a Reign, for a Favourite to ruin a Nation, than for a Nation to have Juſtice againſt a Favourite.

Here let's ſtay a little, and ſee what ſtate the King had brought himſelf to, within leſs than five Months, after he became King.

Firſt, he took *Montague* to be his Chaplain, a virulent, ſeditious, ill-natur'd Fellow, to protect him from his Contempt againſt his Metropolitan and the Parliament, for publiſhing new-fangl'd Opinions, to the Diſturbance of the Peace of Church and State; and when the Commons queſtioned *Montague* for them, he took part with him againſt them, alledging he had taken the Buſineſs into his own Hands, when as he took *Montague* into his Power, to protect him from the Juſtice of them and his Metropolitan, but never took other Notice of *Montague*'s Buſineſs.

Secondly, He took upon him, in Compliance with a foreign Prince and an Enemy to the Nation, to diſpenſe with the Laws againſt *Romiſh* Prieſts; which, by the Conſtitutions of the Nation, he could not do.

Thirdly, He broke his Word with the Parliament concerning the Execution of theſe Laws, within a Day, or two at moſt, after he gave it.

Fourthly, He made War upon the King of *Spain*, without any Declaration of War; whereas Juſt Princes demand Reparations for Wrongs done, and endeavour to compound their Differences amicably, and in caſe of Refuſal, then to proclaim War: and this not only againſt his Father's Counſel, but the Advice of his Father's Council.

Fifthly, Without the Advice of his Council, he lent the *French* a Fleet to ſubdue the *Rochellers*, and the *Reformed* in *France*, tho' they had given him no Offence, and the *French* King had perfidiouſly broke his Promiſe with his Father and himſelf, in denying *Mansfield*'s Army to land.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, He had, againſt the Advice of his Father, broke the Bonds of Amity between him and his Subjects, by diſſolving of the Parliament, whereby he loſt the only Means to ſupport him in his War againſt *Spain*: And now *Buckingham* ſtood ready primed, to engage him in a War againſt *France*; yet in this deplorable State no free Counſel muſt enter the *King's* Ears, which muſt be open to nothing but what *Buckingham* and *Laud* infuſed; a ſad Preſage to what followed, as well upon *Buckingham* and *Laud*, as upon the King himſelf. Now let's ſee the Succeſs of it. *A. Reg.* 1.

Beſides the Fleet deſigned againſt *Cales*, the King fitted up another Fleet, in conjunction with the *Dutch* States, to block up *Dunkirk*, but this being ſent out to Sea about the middle of *October*, the moſt perilous Seaſon of all the Year for great Ships to put to Sea, (a Conſideration either not underſtood, or not regarded by our Land-Admiral *Buckingham*) a terrible Storm aroſe, which ſeparated and diſperſed both Fleets ſo, as gave the *Dunkirkers* an Opportunity to put to Sea with twenty two Men of War, and four thouſand Land-Soldiers. This alarm'd the Council, leſt theſe ſhould land either in *England* or *Ireland*, when as in neither any Proviſion was made to oppoſe them, eſpecially in *England*, where the Earl of *Warwick* had Orders to diſmiſs three hundred of the Trained-bands of *Eſſex*, that were to ſecure *Harwich*: however, it's fit here to mention the noble Act of that Earl, in building *Langard-Fort* on *Suffolk* ſide, to ſecure the Entrance into the Port, the moſt famous of all the *Engliſh* Eaſtern Coaſt, and which is yet continued to this Day. But the Seaſon of the Year was ſuch, as prevented this Fear. Nor had the Deſign upon *Cadiz* more Succeſs than that upon *Dunkirk*; for a furious Storm aroſe in their Paſſage, which ſo ſcattered the Fleet, that of eighty, no leſs than fifty were miſſing for ſeven Days. This was but the Beginning of the Misfortunes of this miſerable Expedition; for the Confuſion of Orders was ſuch, as the Officers and Soldiers ſcarce knew who to command, or whom to obey: ſo that when the Fleet arrived at *Cadiz*, a *Expedition againſt Cadiz was unfortunate.*

Con-

*A.D.*1625 Conqueſt, which would have paid the Charge of the Voyage, and to the Honour of the *Engliſh* offered it ſelf; for the *Spaniſh* Shipping in the Bay of *Cadiz*, lay unprovided of Defence, ſo as the ſurpriſing them was both eaſy and feaſible; but this was neglected; and when the Opportunity was loſt, the Army landed, and Sir *John Burroughs* took a Fort from the *Spaniard*; but was forced to quit it again; for the Soldiers finding therein great ſtore of *Spaniſh* Wines, ſo debauched themſelves, that had the *Spaniards* known the Condition they were in, they might have deſtroyed them all. Hereupon they were put on board again, and the General, my Lord *Wimbleton*, deſigned to ſtay twenty Days to wait for the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet, which was daily expected from the *Weſt-Indies*; but the evil Condition of the Fleet, by reaſon of a general Contagion, enforced the General to abandon the Hopes of ſo great a Prize: ſo having effected nothing, he returned home with Diſhonour in *November* following.

This gave no ſmall Occaſion of Clamour, that a Fleet ſo well provided and mann'd, ſhould land their Men in an Enemies Country, and return without ſome honourable Action: but where the Fault lay, could not be found out; nor was any puniſhed for failing to perform his Duty. Yet the General for ſome time was not admitted into the King's Preſence, and ſome of the Colonels of his Army accuſed him, and ſome Seamen aggravated the Accuſation: Hereupon the General was examined before the Council, and he laid the Fault upon others in the Fleet, who let the King of *Spain*'s Ships paſs without fighting them, according to Order; and they, on the other hand ſaid, they had no Order from the General to fight.

But how miſerable ſoever the Succeſs of this Fleet was, yet it muſt not be, in the King's Judgment, aſcribed to any Improvidence either in the ſetting forth, or Conduct after it; *But to God's Pleaſure (who is the Lord of Hoſts, and unto whoſe Providence and good Pleaſure his Majeſty doth and ſhall ſubmit himſelf, and all his Endeavours) not to give that Succeſs as was*

deſired

desired. See the King's Declaration for diſſolving his ſecond Parliament, which you may read in *Ruſhworth*, *fol.* 451. *A. Reg.* 1.

But ſince the King had no better Succeſs againſt the King of *Spain* by open Force, upon the Return of the Fleet, he gave ſtrict Command, That no Subject of the Realm of *England* ſhould have any Trade or Commerce with any of the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, or of the Arch-Dutchies in *Flanders*, upon pain of Confiſcation of both Ships and Goods that ſhould be found upon Voyage of Trade into any of their ſaid Dominions. But hereby the Loſs manifoldly fell more upon the *Engliſh* than *Spaniards*; for theſe Trades, above all others, were the moſt beneficial and gainful to the *Engliſh*; and by the Peace which the King's Father made with *Spain*, and the free Trade which the *Engliſh* thereby enjoyed in *Spain* and *Flanders*, the Nation became doubly more enriched than in the long Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was double as long as King *James's*, after he had made this Peace; Thus as the King by breaking of the Parliament diſabled himſelf of Means for carrying on the War againſt *Spain*, ſo by this Inhibition of the *Engliſh* to Trade with *Spain*, he diſabled his Subjects from giving him ſuch Aſſiſtance as otherwiſe they might. But theſe were no Conſiderations, where *Buckingham* and *Laud* govern'd all: and thoſe worthy and honourable Stateſmen, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Keeper *Williams*, and the noble Earl of *Briſtol*, were not only diſcountenanc'd, but diſgrac'd, and not permitted to come into the Council.

How unſucceſsful ſoever the Expedition was, yet another Fate attended that Fleet lent to the *French*; for the *Dutch* joining a Fleet in conjunction with the *French* Fleet commanded by the Duke of *Momerancy*, fought the Fleet of the *Rochellers*, and utterly ſubdued it, and then reduced the Iſles of *Rhee* and *Oleron* to the *French* Power. But tho' the miſerable Fate of the *Reformed* began here, yet the Diſhonour of the *Engliſh* Nation ſhall ſoon after follow it; ſo that now *Richlieu* might write, *florebunt Lilia Ponto.*

*A.D.*1625 Tho' the King diſſolved the firſt Parliament to prevent their impeaching *Buckingham*, yet it was not in *Buckingham*'s Power to ſupply the King's Neceſſities, but they put him upon the Neceſſity of calling another. And here you may ſee the little Artifices the King's grand Miniſters of State put him upon for the attaining his Ends, and how quite contrary they ſucceeded.

There were five Perſons whom the Duke took to be his Enemies (if they were not ſo, he had given them Cauſe enough to be ſo) two of them were Peers, and three of them Commoners; the Peers were the Earl of *Briſtol* and Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Commoners were Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Phillips*, (a Perſon whoſe Memory I revere, and ſhould be glad I knew any of his Deſcendants, to whom I could acknowledge it) and Sir *Thomas Wentworth*: theſe Perſons the Duke feared would be leading Men in both Houſes, and was reſolved, that to his Power he would keep them out. He was ſure the Earl and the Biſhop, as Peers, of Common Right, would have their Writs of Summons; and was as ſure the other three would be choſen Members of the Houſe of Commons.

You have heard how, by the Duke's Power, in King *James*'s Reign, *Briſtol* was firſt kept back from coming into *England*, and after he was come over, was kept under Reſtraint, and denied Admiſſion into the King's Preſence, leſt he ſhould have ſpoiled the Duke's fine Tale concerning the *Spaniſh* Match: and alſo after he had anſwer'd every Particular of it, without any Reply, and that after King *James* had promiſed the Earl ſhould be heard in Parliament againſt the Duke, as well as the Duke had been againſt him, King *James* fell ſick, and died thereupon before the Parliament met again.

E. of Briſtol ſeverely uſed. After King *James*'s Death, the Earl wrote a moſt humble Letter to King *Charles*, imploring his Favour, and deſiring the Duke's Mediation, which the Duke anſwered the 7th of *May* 1625, that the Reſolution was to proceed againſt him, without a plain and direct Confeſſion of the Point, which he (*the Duke*) had formerly required him to acknowledge; and in

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a courtly manner told him, *That he would adviſe him to bethink himſelf in time what would be moſt for his Good.* A. Reg. 1.

In the mean time, the Earl receiv'd his Writ of Summons to the Parliament; whereupon the Earl ſent to the Duke, that he would do nothing but what was moſt agreeable to his Majeſty's Pleaſure; which the Duke anſwered, *I have acquainted his Majeſty with your Requeſts towards him, touching your Summons to the Parliament, which he taketh very well, and would have you rather make your Excuſe for your Abſence, notwithſtanding your Writ, than to come your ſelf in Perſon.*

Hereupon the Earl deſired a Letter of Leave under the King's Hand, for his Warrant; but inſtead thereof, he received from *Conway* an abſolute Prohibition, and even to reſtrain and confine him; and in this Reſtraint the Earl continued three Quarters of a Year; during which, he was remov'd from all his Offices and Places he held during King *James*'s Life: and tho' he had laid out the greateſt part of his Eſtate for their Majeſties Service, and by their particular Appointment, he could never be admitted ſo much as to clear his Accompts; yet hereof the Earl never made the leaſt Complaint.

Upon the King's Coronation, when Princes uſually confer Acts of Grace and Favour, the Earl addreſſed himſelf to the Duke, and then became an humble Suitor to the King for his Grace and Favour; to which he received an Anſwer ſo different from what the King's Father and the King himſelf had given him, ſince the Earl's Return into *England*, that the Earl knew not what Conſtruction to make of it.

After the Writs of Summons for the meeting of this Parliament were out, the Earl addreſſed himſelf to my Lord Keeper *Coventry*, to be a Suitor to the King in his behalf, that the Privilege, which of right is due to every Peer, might not be denied him; which not taking effect, the Earl petitioned the Houſe of Peers, to mediate to the King for his Writ, which was granted, but accompanied with a Letter from the Keeper not to take his Place in Parliament.

*A.D.*1625 *Lord Keeper Williams his Character.*

As *Briſtol* was the worthieſt Stateſman in either of theſe King's Reigns, and whoſe Integrity in all theſe Varieties of Employments, none but *Buckingham* and *Conway* preſumed (at leaſt that I can find, or ever heard of) ſo much as to carp at; ſo *Lincoln*'s quaint and excellent, not pedantick Learning, both in Divinity, Hiſtory, the Civil and Canon Law, and not a Stranger to our *Engliſh*, excelled all others. Theſe were adorned with a lively and excellent Elocution, and with a wonderful promptneſs and preſence of Mind, in giving Judgment in the moſt nice and ſubtile dark Points of State, and accompanied with an indefatigable Induſtry in Proſecution of them. Theſe Parts were ſo well obſerv'd in him by King *James*, that without any Solicitation of *Buckingham*, or any other, but whilſt he ſolicited for another, the King conferr'd the Lord Keeper's Place upon him; and after, unſought for, the King promiſed him the next Avoidance of the Arch-biſhoprick of *York*, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Preferment; and ſo ſteddy ſtood he in King *James*'s Favour, that *Buckingham*'s Attacks could no ways ſhake him in it.

In *Chancery* he mitigated the Fees, and all Petitions from poor Men were granted *gratis*; and was ſo far from prolonging Suits, that in the firſt Year he ended more than in ſeven Years before, yet with ſuch Caution, that he would have ſome of the Judges, but principally Sir *Henry Hubbard*, to be aſſiſting: ſo that notwithſtanding his Celerity in Diſpatch in all the five Years of his being Lord Keeper, not one of his Orders, neither by Parliament, nor by the Court of *Chancery*, were ever revers'd.

Cardinal *Richlieu* is much celebrated for the Speech he made in the Convention of *Notables*, to excite the *French* to carry on the Cardinal's ambitious and ungodly Deſigns, after the King had ſo prodigally expended not only his Father's Treaſure, but doubly more than the ordinary Revenues of *France* upon his Favourites, and the manifold Wars both at Home and Abroad, which *Richlieu* had entangled him in. Let any Man compare the Keeper's Speech at the opening the firſt Parliament of King *Charles*, which you may read

read in his Life, with that of *Richlieu's*, and judge if the Rhetorick and Elegancy of it comes any way behind that of his, (after the King's Father and this King had ſquandered much more than the Revenues of the Crown upon their Favourites, and this King had entangled himſelf in the Articles of the *French* Match, and without Means engaged himſelf in a War with *Spain*, and that againſt his Father's and the Keeper's Advice) in exciting the Parliament to a Compliance with the King's Will, tho' with a different Fate; for *Richlieu* attained his Ends by his Speech, whereas the Keeper's Downfal was a Conſequence of his. *A. Reg.* 1.

But above all, the Keeper excell'd himſelf (if I may be Judge) in three Things; one was in his Speech in the *Houſe of Peers*, about the *Peers* taking the Oaths; the ſecond, his Reaſons he gave the *French* Ambaſſador *Vollocleer*, againſt diſpenſing with our Penal Laws againſt *Romiſh Prieſts*; the third *Speech* was, when the Earl of *Eſſex* moved the Houſe of Lords, in the Year 1640, that the Biſhops might be expell'd the Houſe, not their Perſons, but their Order.

After the Parliament was diſſolved at *Oxford*, all Heads were ſet at work to find ſome Fault againſt the Keeper, to out him of his Place, but none could be found; hereupon they made a Propoſition, which the *Keeper* made to King *James*, That the Office of Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, ſhould be Triennial, ſo that after three Years the King ſhould make another, and the *Keeper* having enjoy'd the Place above four Years, to be the Reaſon that he ſhould ſurrender the Seal.

When the *Keeper* had notice of this, in a pathetical Letter to the King, he implores his Majeſty's Favour, that he may retire, with an Aſſurance of his Majeſty's Grace, and be admitted into his Preſence to make ſome humble Requeſts to him, which the King granted. The firſt of his Requeſts was for the King's Favour in general, which the King granted and gave him his Hand twice to kiſs upon it. Secondly, That the King would take away none of his Church-Preferments, as he had graciouſly promiſed, till he had given him better in lieu of them: the King anſwered, *It was his Intention.* Thirdly, That the *His Requeſts to the King.*

A.D.1625 King would remember his Father's Promiſe, ſeconded by him, that he would place him in as good a Biſhoprick, or Archbiſhoprick, as he could: the King ſaid, *There was no ſuch Place void; when any fell, it would be then time enough to make his Requeſt.* Fourthly, That his Majeſty would diſmiſs him freely and abſolutely without any Command from the Table, but to leave it to the *Keeper*'s Diſcretion to forbear: the King ſaid, *He ever intended it ſo, and never ſaid a Word to the contrary; but expected he ſhould not offend by voluntary Intruſion.* Fifthly, That the King would declare to the Lords, that the *Keeper* had willingly and readily yielded to his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and that he parted in the King's Favour and good Opinion, and was ſtill his Servant; the King ſaid, *He would, but that he looked that no Petitions be made for him by any Man at that time, but only for his Favour in general.* Sixthly, The *Keeper* beſought the King to make an Atonement with the Duke upon or without Examination of the Information which the Duke received againſt him: the King ſaid, *It became not him, a King, to take up Quarrels between his Subjects, and that the Duke had never expreſt any ſuch Enmity to him, againſt him (the Keeper).* Seventhly, The *Keeper* beſought the King, that whereas the Keeper had a Penſion by Direction of the King's Father, and wherewith the King was acquainted, of 2000 Marks *per Annum*, to the Viſcount *Wallingford*, and had diſburſed 3000 *l.* down upon it, either to buy the ſaid Penſion, or extinguiſh it, or to aſſign it to be paid out of the Tenths or Subſidies of his Biſhoprick, as before he had appointed to receive it out of the Exchequer: the King ſaid, *Aſſignments were naught, but he would take Order with his Treaſurer to buy it, or pay for it, as ſhould be moſt convenient.* Eightly, The *Keeper* beſought the King to beſtow the next Prebendary in *Weſtminſter* upon his Library-keeper, as his Father had promiſed, or that he might reſume his Books again? the King ſaid, *It was full of Reaſon.* Ninthly, The *Keeper* beſought the King to ratify a Grant made by his Father, of four Advowſons to St. *John's-College* in *Cambridge*, whereof two he had bought with his Money, and two the King gave him for the good of the Society: the King

King ſaid, *He would ratify the Grant, and give way to amend any Errors in the Form, or in paſſing of it.* Tenthly, The *Keeper* beſought the King, that he might retire to a little Lodge which my Lord *Sandys* lent him, where the Lord *Conway* might receive the Seal; which the King granted. Laſtly, The *Keeper* beſought the King, that the King would not be offended with him, if upon his Diſcharge Reports were made that he was diſcontented, which he proteſted he was not, giving over ſo comfortably: the King ſaid, *He would do him that Juſtice, and that he little valued Reports*; and thereupon gave the Keeper his Hand to kiſs at parting. *A. Reg.* 1

But the forlorn Keeper felt the Heavineſs of this Lightneſs, who thought he had obtain'd much, but (excepting the four Advowſons confirm'd to St. *John's-College*) he miſt all that he ſought for and expected; nor could he ever get a Farthing of his Penſion, nor bring it to an Audit to his Dying-day; nor did the Keeper's Enemies ſtop here, but ſought to provoke againſt him the King's Diſpleaſure, with things which were neither conſiſtent with the King's Honour, nor ſcarce to be born by the Temper of Human Nature; and were ſo haſty in it, that the King's Promiſe, that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* (now no more *Lord-Keeper*) ſhould enjoy the King's Favour, was ſcarce three Months old, when they put not only the King out of Mind of his Promiſe, but the Biſhop out of the Duty of his Place, but that *Laud* ſhould perform it, whether the Biſhop would or not. *His ill Uſage.*

It has been ſaid with what Difficulty the Biſhop of *Lincoln* (for ſo we muſt now call him) procured *Laud* the Biſhoprick of St. *David's*; and the Biſhop ſtaid not there, but retained him in his Prebendary at *Weſtminſter*, and ſo after gave him a Living in the Dioceſs of St. *David's* of 120 *l. per Annum*, to help his Revenue. Theſe two laſt, being Additions to *Laud's* Preferment, coming from the Biſhop of *Lincoln* voluntarily and unſought for by *Laud*, he, by Mr. *Winn*, returned his Thanks to the Biſhop with this Expreſſion, *His Life would be too ſhort to requite his Lordſhip's Goodneſs.* But theſe Favours were not eighteen Months planted, when *Laud* became the Biſhop's

A.D.1625 ſhop's ſharpeſt Enemy, and his Malice grew ſo high, that the Counteſs of *Buckingham*, the Duke's Mother, took notice of it.

As Acts of Grace and Favour uſually were accompanied by our King's at their Coronation, ſo in this King's Reign the quite contrary muſt be practiſed, not only to the Earl of *Briſtol*, but much more to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*; for he was not only denied to do his Homage to the King, with the reſt of the Spiritual Lords, at the Coronation, but his Office as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, in aſſiſting the Arch-biſhop in the Solemnity of it; and yet this too muſt be done by *Laud*, as the Biſhop's Subſtitute, whether he would or not.

This was the firſt noble Favour the King extended to the Biſhop, according to his re-iterated Promiſe, when they parted. The ſecond was, he was denied his Writ of Summons as a Peer in Parliament, which met in four Days after the Coronation, *viz. Feb. 6.* which was due *ex debito Juſtitiæ*, and which was never denied to Priſoners, or condemned Perſons even in his Father's Time; and at laſt, when he obtained it, yet he muſt not preſume to ſit in Parliament, and had much ado to have his Proxy left with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Andrews*.

But tho' the Privilege of Peers a little eclipſed the Power of the mighty *Buckingham*, yet he was reſolved to keep Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Phillips*, and Sir *Thomas Wentworth* out of the Commons Houſe by the King's Prerogative, in making them Sheriffs, whether they be returned by the Coroner's Inqueſt of the Counties or not; Sir *Edward Coke* was made Sheriff of the County of *Bucks*, Sir *Robert Phillips* of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *York-ſhire*. It made a mighty Noiſe and an Inquiry, which otherwiſe would not have been, that Sir *Edward Coke*, in his extream Age, now ſeventy ſeven Years old, and who had been Chief Juſtice of both Benches, and Privy-Counſellor, ſhould be made a Sheriff of the County, and the more, for that Sir *Edward Coke* took Exceptions to the Oath of a Sheriff, whereupon it was alter'd.

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The Commons were ſo far from granting Subſidies now, as in the laſt Parliament, before Grievances were redreſs'd, that upon their firſt Meeting they fell upon Examination of Grievances, and the Miſcarriage of the Fleet at *Cadiz*, the evil Counſellors about the King's Miſgovernment, and Miſimployment of the King's Revenue, and an Account of the three Subſidies and three Fifteenths granted the 21ſt of King *James*: That new Impoſitions and Monopolies were multiplied, and ſettled to continue by Grants; Cuſtoms enhaunced by the new Book of Rates; and that Tunnage and Poundage was levied, tho' by no Act of Parliament; and the Guard of the Seas neglected. *A. Reg.* 1. *New Parliament meet.*

However, theſe were Generals, but the firſt Particular fell upon *Montague* in five particular Articles, wherein he had broken the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and diſturbed the Peace both of the Church and Commonwealth.

1. Whereas by the Articles of the *Convocation* holden in the Year 1562, it is determined, That the Church of *Rome* is, at preſent, and has been for above 900 Years paſt, ſo far wide from the Nature of a *true Church*, that nothing can be more; he, the ſaid *Montague*, in ſeveral places of the Book called, *The Anſwer to the Gagg*, and his other Book called, *The Appeal*, adviſedly affirms and maintains, *That the Church of* Rome *is and ever was a true Church ſince it was a Church.* *Their Proſecution of Dr. Montague.*

2. Whereas in the 16th Homily of the ſecond Book of Homilies it is declared, that the Church of *Rome* is not built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles; and in the 23d Article, that *Tranſubſtantiation* overthrows the Nature of a Sacrament, and in the 25th Article, that the five other Sacraments are not to be accounted Sacraments; yet he, the ſaid *Montague* maintains in his Book, called, *The Anſwer to the Gagg, That the Church of* Rome *hath ever remained firm upon the ſame Foundation of Sacraments and Doctrine inſtituted by God.*

3. In the 19th of the ſame Article it is maintained, That the Church of *Rome* hath erred not only in their

A.D.1625 their Living and Matters of Faith, and Ceremonies; he, in his Book called, *The Gagg*, does maintain, that none of theſe are controverted in their Points between the *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*: and tho' in the 25th Article it is reſolved, that the Sacrifice of Maſſes, in which it is commonly ſaid, the Prieſt did offer Chriſt for the *Quick* and the *Dead*, to have Remiſſion of Pain and Guilt too, is a blaſphemous Fable, and dangerous Deceit, this being one of the controverted Points between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome*; he, in his Book called, *The Gagg*, does maintain, *That theſe controverted Points are of a leſs and inferiour Nature, of which a Man may be ignorant without any danger of his Soul at all; and a Man may oppoſe this or that without peril of periſhing for ever.*

4. Whereas in the ſecond Homily, entitled, *Againſt the Peril of Idolatry*, and approved by the 37th Article, it is declared, That Images teach no good Leſſon, neither of God or Godlineſs, but all Error and Wickedneſs; he, the ſaid *Montague*, does maintain, *Images may be uſed for the Inſtruction of the Ignorant, and Excitation of Devotion.*

5. That in the ſame Homily it is plainly expreſſed, That the attributing certain Countries to Saints, is a ſpoiling God of his Honour, and that ſuch Saints are but *Dii tutelares* of the *Gentile Idolaters*; yet the ſaid *Montague* in his Book entitled, *A Treatiſe concerning the Invocation of Saints*, affirmed and maintained, That the Saints have not only a Memory, but a more peculiar Charge of their Friends; and that it may be admitted, that ſome Saints have a peculiar Patronage, Cuſtody, Protection and Power, as Angels alſo have over certain Perſons and Countries by ſpecial Deputation, and that it is not Impiety ſo to believe. And whereas in the 17th Article it is reſolved, That God has certainly decreed by his Counſel, ſecret to us, to deliver from Curſe and Damnation thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of Mankind, to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting Salvation; wherefore they which be endued with ſo excellent a Benefit of God, be called according to God's Purpoſe, working in due ſeaſon, they through Grace

Grace obeying the Calling, they be juſtified freely, walk religiouſly in good Works, and at length by God's Mercy attain to everlaſting Felicity: He, the ſaid *Montague*, in his Book called, *The Appeal*, does maintain, That Men juſtified may fall away and depart from the State they once had, and may again ariſe, and become new Men poſſibly, but not certainly nor neceſſarily. And the better to countenance this Opinion, he hath, in the ſame Book, wilfully added, and falſly charged divers Words in the ſaid 16th Article, and in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and ſo miſrecited and changed the ſaid Places he does alledge in his ſaid *Appeal*, endeavouring thereby to lay a moſt malicious and wicked Scandal upon the Church of *England*, as if he did herein differ from the Reformed Church of *England*, and from the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, and did conſent to thoſe pernicious Errors which are commonly called *Arminianiſm*, and which the late famous Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of happy Memory, did ſo piouſly and diligently labour to ſuppreſs. *A. Reg.* 1.

That he had, contrary to his Duty and Allegiance, endeavoured to raiſe Factions and Diviſions in the Common-wealth, by caſting the odious and ſcandalous Name of *Puritans* upon ſuch as conform themſelves to the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, under that Name laying upon them divers falſe and malicious Imputations, ſo to bring them into Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure with the King, and Ignominy and Reproach of the People, to the great danger of Sedition, and diſturbance of the State, if it be not timely prevented.

That the Scope and End of his Books are, to give Encouragement to Popery, and to withdraw the King's Subjects from the true eſtabliſhed Religion, to the Roman Superſtition, and conſequently to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, whereby God's true Religion has been ſcandaliz'd, thoſe Miſchiefs introduced which the Wiſdom of many Laws hath endeavoured to prevent, the Devices of his Majeſty's Enemies furthered and advanced, to the great danger of the King and all his loving Subjects.

That

A.D. 1625 That he has inſerted in his Book called, *The Appeal*, divers Paſſages diſhonourable to the late King, full of Bitterneſs, Railing, and injurious Speeches to other Perſons, diſgraceful and contemptible to many worthy Divines of this Kingdom, and other Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; impious and profane in ſcoffing at Preaching, Meditating and Conferring, Pulpits, Bibles, and all ſhew of Religion; all which do aggravate his former Offences, having proceeded from malicious and enormous Heat againſt the Peace of the Church, and the Sincerity of the Reformed Religion publickly profeſſed, and by Law eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom. All which Offences being to the Diſhonour of God, and of moſt miſchievous Effect and Conſequence againſt the Church and Common-wealth of *England*, and other of his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, the Commons aſſembled in Parliament do hereby pray, that the ſaid *Richard Montague* may be puniſhed according to his Demerits, in ſuch exemplary manner, as may deter others from attempting ſo preſumptuouſly the Peace of the Church and State; and that the Books aforeſaid may be ſuppreſſed and burnt.

This was that ſpecial Stick of Wood which *Laud*, in the beginning of this young King's Reign, put into his Hand, to ſupport him in the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Church of *England*, and afterwards planted him to be one of the Cedars of our Church, by having him made firſt, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and after of *Norwich*.

However, *Laud* was ſo nettled with the Votes of the Commons; I do not find *Buckingham* concerned himſelf in them, it may be, believing this might divert the Storm from him: but it was impoſſible for the Commons, in looking into the Grievances of the Nation, but to meet *Buckingham* in the Front of every one of them: And when they began their Debates concerning the Duke, they received a Meſſage from the King of the preſſing State of *Chriſtendom*, and with what Care and Patience he expected their Reſolutions of Supplies, and to let them know, he look'd for a full and perfect Anſwer of what they would

d give for his Supply, according to his Ex- *A. Rec. 2.*
tion, and their Promiſes; and that he would
accept of leſs than was proportionable for the
eatneſs and Goodneſs of the Cauſe; and that it
s not fit to depend any longer upon Uncertainties,
hereby the whole Weight of the Affairs of *Chri-*
ſtendom may break in upon us upon the ſudden, as
well to his Diſhonour, as the Shame of the Nation;
and when this is done, they may continue longer,
and apply themſelves to the Redreſs of Grievances,
ſo they do it in a dutiful and mannerly Way, with-
out throwing an ill Odor upon his preſent Govern-
ment, or upon the Government of his late bleſſed
Father.

The Commons, in anſwer, beſeech the King to reſt aſſured, that no King was ever dearer to his People than his Majeſty, no People more zealous to maintain and advance his Honour and Greatneſs, and eſpecially to ſupport that Cauſe wherein his Majeſty and Allies are now engaged; and beſeech his Majeſty to accept the Advice of his Parliament, which can have no other end but the Service of his Majeſty, and the Safety of his Realm, in diſcovering the Cauſes, and propoſing the Remedies of thoſe great Evils which have occaſioned his Majeſty's Wants, and his People's Griefs: And therefore, in Aſſurance of Redreſs herein, they really intend to aſſiſt his Majeſty in ſuch a way, and in ſo ample a Meaſure, as may make him ſafe at Home, and feared Abroad; and for diſpatch whereof, they will uſe ſuch Diligence, as his urgent and preſſing Occaſions require.

The King, in anſwer to the Commons, tells them, he takes the Cauſe of their preſenting Grievances, to be a *Parentheſis*, and not a *Condition*; and will be willing to hear their Grievances, ſo as they apply themſelves to redreſs Grievances, and not enquire after Grievances: That he will not allow any of his Servants to be queſtioned by them, much leſs ſuch as are of eminent Place about him; that the old Queſtion was, *What ſhall be done to the Man whom the King honours?* But now it hath been the Labour of ſome, to ſeek what may be done againſt him

King finds Fault with their Proceedings.

A.D. 1626 him whom the King thinks fit to honour; he [illegible] they ſpecially aimed at the Duke of *Buckingham*, wonders what had altered their Affections to [illegible] when in the laſt Parliament of his Father's ti[illegible] he was their Inſtrument to break the Treaties, [illegible] which they did ſo honour and reſpect him, that [illegible] the Honour conferred upon him was *too little*. He wot not what had chang'd their Minds; but aſſures them, that the Duke had not meddled with, or done any thing concerning the Publick, but by his ſpecial Directions, and was ſo far from gaining any Eſtate thereby, that he verily thinks the Duke rather impaired the ſame. He would have them haſten the Supplies, or it will be the worſe for them; for if any Ill happens, he thinks he ſhall be the laſt that ſhall feel it.

The Commons had yet freſh in Memory the Diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, about ſix Months before, and what Truſt there was to this King's Word for Redreſs of Grievances, ſo as it was done in a dutiful and mannerly Way, after they had given Money; and therefore they little altered their Courſe from what they had done at *Oxford*, yet more than Parliaments heretofore did, to have Grievances firſt redreſs'd, and then to give Supplies; for they voted to proceed upon Grievances, and to give the King three Subſidies, and three Fifteenths.

This gave the Duke little Satisfaction: ſo that the King himſelf became the Duke's Advocate, and told the Commons in a Speech, that he came to inform the Commons of their Errors and unparliamentary Proceedings, ſo that they might amend their Faults: which was enlarged by my Lord Keeper *Coventry*, who told them of the King's Neceſſities, and his Patience in Expectation of Supplies, and of the King's Promiſe of Redreſs of Grievances, after Supplies were granted; That the Enquiry upon ſundry Articles againſt the Duke upon *Common Fame*, was to wound the Honour and Government of his Majeſty, and of his renowned Father, and therefore it was his Majeſty's final and expreſs Command, that they yield Obedience to thoſe

Ld. Keeper Coventry's Speech to the Parliament.

Directions which they formerly receiv'd, and their unparliamentary Proceedings againſt the , and leave to his Majeſty's Care, Wiſdom, Juſtice, the future Reformation of thoſe things, ich they ſuppoſed to be otherwiſe than they ould be; and that the King took notice, that they had ſuffered the greateſt Council of State (*the Duke and Laud*) to be cenſured and traduced by Men, whoſe Years and Education cannot attain to that Depth, (*Why then were the old Members kept out of the Houſe, which could have better informed them?*) and that the three Subſidies, and three Fifteenths were no ways proportionable to ſupply the King's Neceſſities, *&c.* and concludes, that his Majeſty doubts not but after this Admonition, they will obſerve and follow it, which if they do, his Majeſty is moſt ready to forgive all that is paſt. Then the King added, that in his Father's time, by their Perſwaſion, he was their Inſtrument to break off thoſe Treaties; and that then no Body was in ſo great Favour with them as the Man they ſeem now to touch, but indeed mean his Father's Government, and his; and that Parliaments are altogether in his Power for their Calling, Sitting and Diſſolution; and as he finds the Fruits, they are to continue, or not to be. *A. Reg.* 2.

But if the Commons Proceedings againſt the Duke were erroneous and unparliamentary, and through the Duke's Sides wounded not only the King's Government, but that of his renowned Father, and that the young Men in this Houſe of Commons, had cenſured and traduced the King's higheſt Council of State; you ſhall now hear of an old Stateſman in the Houſe of Lords, which ſhall not only ceaſe the Wonder, which cauſed the Parliament in the 21ſt of King *James*, ſo to applaud the Duke, but ſhall wound the whole Story, which begat that great Applauſe to the Duke.

You have heard before how the Earl of *Briſtol* was ſtopp'd at *Calais* from coming over into *England*, after his Return out of *Spain*; and after he came to *Dover*, when the Duke could not prevail upon Marquiſs *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Hertford*, to have the Earl ſent to the Tower upon his Arrival in *England*; how he was

*A.D.*1626 was ſtopp'd by a Letter from the Lord *Conway*, that he ſhould not come to Court, nor to the King's Defence, till he had anſwered to ſome Queries which his Majeſty would appoint ſome of the Lords of the Council to ask him, which was not done till the Parliament was adjourned, and never met more; and how after King *James*'s Death the Earl was not only kept from his Liberty, and the King's Preſence, but removed from all his Offices and Employments, and not ſuffered to come to an Account for the Monies expended in the King's Service; and not permitted to come to the Parliament which was diſſolved at *Oxford*.

More Proceedings about the Earl of Briſtol.

Upon the King's Summons of this Parliament, the Earl of *Briſtol* petitions the King to have his Writ of Summons, which was never denied to any Peer, to aſſiſt in the Houſe of Peers; but he receiv'd an Anſwer by the Lord *Conway*, That the King was no ways ſatisfied in it, and propounded to the Earl, *Whether he would rather ſit ſtill, and enjoy the Benefit of the late King's Pardon in Parliament, or to wave it, and put himſelf upon Trial, for his Negotiation in* Spain; *and one of theſe he muſt truſt to, and give a direct Anſwer.*

The Earl, in Anſwer, ſaid, He had been already queſtioned upon twenty Articles, by a Commiſſion of the Lords, and had given ſuch Anſwers, that their Lordſhips never met more about that Buſineſs; and that he did not wave the Pardon granted by King *James* in Parliament. Theſe Letters you may read at large in *Ruſhworth, fol.* 138, 139, 140.

Hereupon the Earl petitions the Houſe of Lords, ſhewing, that he being a Peer of this Realm, had not received his Writ of Summons to Parliament, and deſires their Lordſhips to mediate with his Majeſty that he may enjoy the Liberty of a Subject, and the Privilege of his Peerage, after almoſt two Years Reſtraint, without any Tryal brought againſt him; and that if any Charge be brought againſt him, he prays he may be tried by Parliament.

Hereupon the Lords petition the King, that not only the Earl of *Briſtol*, but all ſuch other Lords whoſe Writs are ſtopt, except ſuch as are made uncapable to ſit in Parliament, by Judgment of Parliament,

t, or ſome other legal Judgment, may be ſum- *A. Reg. 2.*

s nettled the Duke to the quick, ſo that he the Houſe the King had ſent the Earl his Writ, withal deliver'd ſuch a Letter, which the King ſent to the Earl, which I care not to tranſcribe; wherein this great Stateſman *Buckingham* would have the Earl judged and cenſured by the King, without hearing the Earl, and thereby foreſtal the Judgment of the Lords againſt the Earl.

It's true indeed, my Lord Keeper *Coventry* ſent the Earl a Writ of Summons to attend in Parliament, but withal ſignified by a Letter to the Earl, that it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure withal, *(no doubt but by the Advice of his higheſt Council of State)* that the Earl ſhould continue in the ſame Reſtraint he was, ſo that he forbear his perſonal Attendance in Parliament. But ſince the Duke could no longer keep the Earl out of the Houſe of Lords, the King, by my Lord Keeper, ſignified to the Lords, that his Pleaſure was, they ſhould ſend for the Earl as a Delinquent, to anſwer Offences committed againſt him before his going into *Spain*, and ſince his coming back, and his ſcanda'izing the Duke of *Buckingham*, immediately, and by Reflection upon himſelf, with whoſe Privity and Direction the Duke guided his Actions, and without which he did nothing. And now Sir *Robert Heath*, the King's Attorney-General, exhibited eleven Articles againſt the Earl *(it was thought fit to leave out the other nine)* which the Earl had anſwered to King *James*, without any Reply; and in the laſt of theſe the Earl is charged with giving the King the Lie, in offering to falſify that Relation which his Majeſty affirmed, and thereunto added many things of his own Remembrance to both Houſes of Parliament.

Hereupon the Earl exhibited a Charge of High Treaſon and Miſdemeanors, in twelve Articles, againſt the Duke, and another againſt the Lord *Conway*, of High Miſdemeanors: And upon the Delivery of them, the Earl deſired a Copy of the King's Charge againſt him in Writing, and time allowed to anſwer, and Council aſſign'd him; and ſaid there was a great Difference between the Duke and him,

A.D. 1626 for the Duke was accuſed of Treaſon, and at [illegible] and in the King's Favour, and that he, being [illegible] cuſed of that which he had long ſince anſwered, a Priſoner, and therefore moved the Duke might [illegible] put in equal Condition; which tho' the Houſe did not, yet they were not ſatisfied to commit the Earl to the Tower, and order'd, That the King's Charge againſt the Earl ſhould be firſt heard, and then the Earl's againſt the Duke; yet ſo that the Earl's Teſtimony againſt the Duke be not prevented, prejudiced, or impeached.

The King, in a Meſſage to the Lords by my Lord Keeper, would have blaſted the Earl's Articles againſt the Duke for two Reaſons: Firſt, That the Narrative made in the 21 *Jac.* in Parliament, trenched as far upon him as the Duke, for that he went therein as far as the Duke. *But what then? Shall not the Earl be heard in his Defence againſt that Declaration which was deſigned to blaſt the Earl's Honour and Integrity? and Juſtice is no Reſpecter of Perſons.*

The other was, That all the Earl's Articles had been cloſed in his Breaſt now theſe two Years, contrary to his Duty, if he had known any Crime of that nature againſt the Duke; and now he vents it by Recrimination againſt the Duke, whom he knows to be a principal Witneſs to prove his Charge againſt the Earl. *This is ſtrange; for his Majeſty's Reign was ſcarce yet a Year old, and all this while the Earl was under a Reſtraint, and not permitted to come to the Parliament, which ended at* Oxford; *and in his Father's Reign, after the Earl had anſwered all the Duke's Articles againſt him, without any Reply, King* James *promiſed him he ſhould be heard againſt the Duke, as well as he was againſt him, tho' he lived not to make good his Promiſe.*

Now let's ſee the Levity of this Prince, the neceſſary Concomitant of Wilfulneſs, and which he purſued in every ſtep of his Reign, without any Remorſe that I could ever find; for the Lodgment of the King's Charge againſt the Earl in the Houſe of Lords was ſcarce cold, when as it was endeavoured to take the Earl's Cauſe out of the Houſe, and to proceed againſt him in the King's Bench. *But why muſt this be at this time of day, and while a Parliament was ſitting?*

[redacted]? *And why was not this done in the King's Father's* A. Reg. 2.
[redacted] *in this King's Reign? And why muſt two years* [redacted]
[redacted] *and this way of charging the Earl never thought of,* [redacted]
[redacted]*ich now muſt be done in all haſt?* But the Lords put a full ſtop to this, and for theſe Reaſons:

1. For that in all Cauſes of moment, the Defendants ſhall have Copies of all Depoſitions both *pro* and *contra*, after Publication, in convenient time before hearing, to prepare themſelves; and if the Defendants will demand that of the Houſe in due time, they ſhall have learned Council to aſſiſt them in their Defence: And their Lordſhips declared they would give their Aſſents thereto, becauſe in all Cauſes, as well Civil as Criminal and Capital, they hold, that all lawful Help could not, before juſt Judges, make one that is guilty avoid Juſtice; and on the other ſide, God defend that an *Innocent* ſhould be condemned. *The Lords favour him.*

2. The Earl of *Briſtol*, by his Petition to the Houſe, complained of his Reſtraint, deſiring to be heard here, as well in point of his Wrongs, as in his Accuſations againſt the Duke; whereof his Majeſty taking Conſideration, ſignified his Pleaſure by the Lord Keeper, *April* 20. That his Majeſty was reſolved to put his Cauſe upon the Honour and Juſtice of this Houſe; and that the Earl ſhould be ſent for as a Delinquent, to anſwer the Offences he committed in his Negociations, before his Majeſty's going into *Spain*, whilſt his Majeſty was there, and ſince his Return; and that his Majeſty would cauſe theſe things to be charged upon him in this Houſe, ſo as the Houſe is fully poſſeſſed of the Cauſe, as well by the Earl's Petition as the King's Conſent, and the Earl brought up to the Houſe as a *Delinquent*, to anſwer his Offences there: and Mr. Attorney hath accordingly delivered the Charge againſt him in the Houſe, and the Earl alſo his Charge againſt the Duke.

[redacted] now, if the Earl be proceeded withal by way of the *King's-Bench*, theſe dangerous Inconveniencies will follow:

A.D.1626 1. He can have no Council.

2. He can uſe no Witneſs againſt the King.

3. He cannot know what the Evidences againſt him will be in convenient time to prepare for his Defence, and ſo the Innocent may be condemned; which may be the Caſe of any Peer.

4. The Liberty of the Houſe will be thereby infringed, the Honour and Juſtice of it declined, contrary to the King's Pleaſure, expreſly ſignified by my Lord Keeper: all which are expreſly againſt the Order.

5. The Earl being indicted, it will not be in the Power of the Houſe to keep him from Arraignment, and ſo he may be diſabled to make good his Charge againſt the Duke.

Therefore the way to proceed according to the Directions and true Meaning of the Order, and the King's Pleaſure ſignified, and preſerve the Liberties of the Houſe, and protect one from Injury, will be,

To have the Charge delivered into the Houſe in Writing, and the Earl to ſet down his Anſwer in Writing; and that the Witneſſes on both ſides be examined, and Evidences on both ſides heard, by ſuch Courſe and Manner of Proceeding as ſhall be thought fit by the Houſe: And if upon a full Hearing, the Houſe ſhall find it Treaſon, then to proceed by way of Indictment; if doubtful in point of Law, to have the Opinion of the Judges to clear it; if doubtful in Matter of Fact, then to refer it to a legal Trial at Law; and that the rather, for that,

1. It appears, that the Earl, in the ſpace of two Years (till now he complained) has not ſo much as been queſtioned for Matter of Treaſon.

2. He has been examined upon twenty Interrogatories, and the Commiſſioners ſatisfied, that his Anſwer would admit of no Reply.

3. The Lord *Conway*, by ſeveral Letters, has intimated, that there is nothing againſt him, but what was pardoned by the Parliament of the 21ſt of *Jac.* and

gnified his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that he might *A. Reg.* 2.
n that Security, and ſit ſtill.

4. That his Majeſty had often declared to the Counteſs of *Briſtol*, and others, that there was neither Treaſon nor Felony againſt the Earl, nor ought elſe but what a ſmall Acknowledgment would expiate.

The Earl, in Conformity to this Order, anſwered every Particular of the King's Charge againſt him, without any Reply; but it would be a wonderful Diſcovery, to find an Anſwer to any one Particular of the Earl's Charge, either againſt the Duke, or my Lord *Conway*.

The Commons, at the ſame time, impeached the Duke of High Miſdemeanors, in a Charge of thirteen Articles, whereof that of the Death of King *James* was one; but to the Diſpleaſure of the King ſo far, as to commit Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot* to the Tower for it: and the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords by Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, by an unanimous Vote, to commit the Duke to ſafe Cuſtody; which I do not find the Lords did, nor did the impriſoned Members lie long in the Tower; for the King ſignified to the Houſe, that Sir *Dudley Diggs* did not ſpeak the Words for which the King committed him, and ſoon after Sir *John Elliot* was diſcharged. *Commons impeach Buckingham.*

However, the Commons ran high againſt the Duke, with a Proteſtation, *that till he were removed from meddling with State-Affairs, they were out of all hopes of any good Succeſs, and aſſur that any Money which they ſhall or can give will, through his Miſemployment, rather be turned to the Hurt and Prejudice of this Kingdom than otherwiſe, as by lamentable Experience they have lately found in thoſe large Supplies they had formerly and lately given.*

But the Duke, thus doubly ſtormed both by the Earl and Commons, and utterly unprovided to defend himſelf againſt either; and the King, rather than receive the *Remonſtrance* the Commons had prepared to preſent him againſt the Duke, reſolved to part with the Parliament rather than the Duke, and thereby loſt four Subſidies and three Fifteenths, tho' *Parliament diſſolved.*

A. 1626 tho' the Houſe of Peers petitioned to the co[ntrary]. This was upon the 15th of *June*, 1626. He [then] long Declaration after them, wherein he magnifies his Power of Calling, Adjourning, Proroguing, and Diſſolving Parliaments peculiarly belonging to himſelf, by an undoubted Prerogative inſeparably united to his Imperial Crown, of which, as of all his other *Royal Actions*, he is not to give any Account, but to God only, whoſe immediate Lieutenant and Vicegerent he is in theſe his Realms and Dominions, by Divine Providence committed to his Charge; yet his Purpoſe is, ſo to order himſelf and all his Actions, concerning the Weal of his Kingdoms, as may juſtify themſelves not only to his own Conſcience, and to his own People, but to the whole World: He thought fit to make a true, plain, and clear Declaration of the Reaſons that enforced him to diſſolve theſe two laſt Parliaments, ſo that the Mouth of Malice it ſelf might be ſtopt, and the deſerved Blame of ſo unhappy Accidents may juſtly fall upon the Authors thereof.

King's Declaration upon it, with Remarks.

The King ſays, That when he came firſt to the Crown, he found himſelf engaged in a War againſt a potent Enemy. *Who was that Enemy? Or at what time was any Declaration of any War made either againſt his Father or him? Which after the beſt Search I could ever make, I could never find any; yet this I find, that the next day after his Father's Death, he and his Favourite the Duke were ſo eager to make a War againſt the King of* Spain, *that a Day muſt not be loſt, but Writs muſt be iſſued out to ſummon a Parliament, to give Subſidies to make War againſt* Spain. See the ſecond Part of the Keeper *Williams's* Life, *fol.* 4. *tit.* 2.

This War, the King ſays, was not undertaken raſhly, nor without juſt and honourable Grounds, but enforced for the neceſſary Defence of himſelf and his Dominions. *If this War were for the neceſſary Defence of the King and his Dominions, there muſt be ſome Body that did thus offend the King and his Dominions; but who this is, the King neither ſays, nor can I find.*

For the Support of his Friends and Allies. *This is general, ſo no particular Anſwer can be given to it: but who theſe Friends and Allies were which were to be ſupported, the King neither ſays, nor can I find.* For

For redeeming the ancient Honour of this Nation. *It had need, for it was never ſo blaſted as in his Father's and his own Reign.* *A. Rer.* 2.

For the Recovery of the Patrimony of his dear Siſter, her Conſort, and their Children, injuriouſly, and under colour of Treaties of Friendſhip, taken from them, *The King's Father, to make good the Narrative which this King and* Buckingham *made of the* Spaniſh *Treaty, told the Parliament he was deceived by Generals, and that* doloſus verſatur in generalibus. *If the King would have ſatisfied the World how his Brother-in-law's Patrimony was taken from him by Colour of Treaties and Friendſhip, he ſhould have ſet forth the Treaties and Friendſhip, and by whom, and when ſought; and by whom, and when broken: but of this the King ſays not one word, and therefore that which he ſays ſtands for nothing.*

And for the Maintenance of the true Religion. *Were the Ships which he and* Buckingham *laſt Year ſent to ſubdue the* Rochellers, *who had never given him or his Father any Offence, for the Defence of the true Religion? If this was not, what was it this King did for the Defence of the true Religion?*

And invited thereunto, and encouraged therein, by the humble Advice of both Houſes of Parliament. *What! all this by the Advice of both Houſes of Parliament: I cannot find the Parliament,* 21 Jac. *ever invited his Father to any more, than to break off the Treaties of the Prince's Match with* Spain, *and the* Palatinate: *But what if upon the Miſinformation of the Duke* ex parte, *the Parliament had done all this? yet, when as the Earl of* Briſtol *had twice blaſted the Duke's Narrative in every particular, without any Reply, Why might not another Parliament, upon better Information, alter what the Parliaments* 21 Jac. *had done? Which neither of theſe Parliaments did, but granted and voted him and his Father greater Subſidies than ever before were given to any of his Predeceſſors in threefold the time.*

But when the King enter'd into a View of his Treaſure, he found how ill provided he was to proceed effectually with ſo great an Action. *It ſeems by this one Action, the King only deſigned the War againſt* Spain: *But why does not the King ſet forth the Cauſes why his Treaſure was ſo ill provided? It*

A.D.1626 *was not ten Months before his Father's Death, that the Parliament* 21 Jac. *which gave his Father three Subſidies and three Fifteenths, was adjourned; and his firſt Parliament gave him two Subſidies more, within two or three Months after his Father's Death: And what came of all this, but the raiſing ten thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe, under* Mansfield, *the Expedition againſt the* Rochellers, *and to* Cadiz? *to neither of which latter he was ever invited by his Father, or any Parliament.*

The King makes the Plague to be the Cauſe of the Diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*; *yet he might as well have ſecured the Members by a Prorogation, as Diſſolution.*

And in this Parliament, he tells how the Houſe of Commons voted him three Subſidies and three Fifteenths, and after four Subſidies and three Fifteenths, and of the Letter he ſent them the 9th of *June*, to ſpeed the paſſing theſe Supplies; and how that the Houſe, being abuſed by the violent and ill-adviſed Paſſion of a few Members, never ſo much as admitted one Reading to the Bill of Subſidies, but voted a *Remonſtrance*, or *Declaration*, which they intended to prefer to him (tho' palliated with gloſſing Terms) containing many diſhonourable Aſperſions upon his Majeſty, and upon the ſacred Memory of his deceaſed Father; which his Majeſty taking for a Denial of the promiſed Supplies, upon mature Adviſement he diſſolved them. *But from whence ſhould this mature Adviſement come? We do not find the Privy Council had any hand in it, and the Houſe of Lords petitioned againſt it.*

But leſt the Credit of this Declaration ſhould not find Faith enough againſt the Commons Repreſentatives, the King ſends a Proclamation after it, wherein he takes notice of a *Remonſtrance* drawn by a Committee of the late Commons, to be preſented to him, wherein are many things to the Diſhonour of himſelf, and his Royal Father of bleſſed Memory, and whereby, through the ſides of a Peer of this Realm, they wound their Sovereign's Honour; to vent their Paſſions againſt that Peer, and prepoſſeſs the World with an ill Opinion of him, before his Caſe was heard (*who hinder'd it?*) had ſcatter'd Copies

Copies of it. Wherefore the King, to ſuppreſs ſuch an unſufferable Wrong, upon pain of his Indignation and high Diſpleaſure, commanded all who had Copies thereof to burn them. *But why was not the Duke's Cauſe heard? and who diſſolved the Parliament to prevent it? Had not the Earl of* Briſtol *anſwered every Particular of the King's and Duke's Charge againſt him? And was there not an Order of the Houſe of Lords, the Duke ſhould anſwer the Earl's Charge againſt him? Where is this Anſwer to be found? and why was it not?* *A. Reg.* 1.

Now ſee the Juſtice of this King, and how he made good his Promiſe in his Declaration, that he would ſo order his Actions, as ſhould juſtify him, not only in his own Conſcience, but to the whole World; for the very Day the Parliament was diſſolved, he committed the Earl of *Briſtol* Priſoner to the Tower, and left the Duke free, to purſue his ungodly Deſigns.

Here I'll ſtay a little, and add this Augmentation of Honour to the Eſcutcheon of this noble Earl, notwithſtanding this Uſage: For when the long Parliament, in 1640, had put a full Stop to the King's *Abſolute Will and Pleaſure*, which if it had not, God only knows where it would have ended; and after that, this King's Flatterers and Favourites, his Lord Keeper *Finch*, and Secretary *Windebank*, had run into other Countries, to ſave themſelves from being hanged in this; and that the Earl of *Manchester*, after he had flatter'd this King and his Father in all the Shapes of Earl, Viſcount, Baron, Lord Chief Juſtice, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Treaſurer, and Lord Preſident of the Council; and his Son, and the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*, and both the Sir *Henry Vanes*, Father and Son, and Sir *Henry Mildmay*, &c. ſided with the Parliament againſt the King; yet this noble Earl followed the King in all his Adverſity, however he had been perſecuted by him in his Proſperity.

The late Keeper, as he gave his Opinion againſt the War with *Spain* in King *James*'s Reign, ſo did he againſt the Expedition againſt *Cales* in this King's Reign: his Reaſon was, which you may read in the ſecond Part of his Life, *fol.* 65. *That the King muſt make himſelf ſure of the Love of his own People at home, before he bid War to ſuch a rich and mighty Nation.* But

A.D.1626 But the *Keeper*'s Counſels were as much feared and hated by the Duke, as *Briſtol*'s and the Commons Articles were againſt him; and therefore he reſolved to be rid of them all, and purſue the King's and his own Deſigns, without any Controul; and the very ſame Day the Parliament was diſſolved, cauſed the Earl of *Briſtol* to be committed to the Tower.

Cauſe of a War againſt France. Nor would he have his Renown and Valour leſs known Abroad, than his Juſtice at Home; and *France* ſhall now be the Theatre upon which he will act it, in ſpight of *Spain*, or the Parliament and Nation of *England*, without whoſe Aſſiſtance he will act Wonders, by his own Power, and in Vindication of his own Honour. *Ruſhworth* makes the Cauſes of this War to begin between the Prieſts of the Queen's Family, and the Biſhop's, by Articles of Agreement upon the Marriage; and that the Pope had declared them Apoſtates, if they ſhould ſeek for any Eſtabliſhment from the King, being an Heretick; and that the Queen ſided herein with the Prieſts againſt the King, and that Unkindneſſes hereupon grew between them; ſo as the King informed his Brother of *France*, he could no longer bear them. But theſe were but Pretences; the Cauſe was of another Complexion. You have heard before of the Emulation between *Richlieu* and *Buckingham*, and of their Inclinations for the Queen's Favour, and of the Queen's noble Averſions to them both; but I think *Nani* was therein a little miſtaken; for, if I be not miſinformed, as I think verily I am not, when *Buckingham* came out of *France* with the Queen of *England*, he left, or ſoon after ſent Sir *Balthazer Gerbier* to hold ſecret Correſpondence between the Queen and himſelf; and tho' *Richlieu* watch'd *Gerbier* narrowly, yet he brought the Queen's Garter, and an exceeding rich Jewel to *Buckingham* from her.

Upon the breaking out of the Feuds in the Queen's Family, which began almoſt as ſoon, if not before it was ſettled, *Buckingham* prevails with the King to be ſent into *France* to compoſe them, which was granted. But *Nani* ſays, The true Motive of *Buckingham*'s Journey being aſcribed to Love, contracted in that Court, *Richlieu* perſwaded the King to

to refuſe him Entrance into the Kingdom. *The Rage hereupon of the other was inflamed to Extremity, and ſware, ſince he was forbidden to enter in a peaceable manner into* France, *he would make his Paſſage with an Army.* *A. Reg. 3.*

Here you ſee the Duke was under a double Obligation, of Love and Honour; and ſince he could not attain his End in Love, it's remarkable by what Steps he proceeded to make good his Oath and Honour of entring into *France* with an Army; which will be better obſerved if they be look'd upon in their Circumſtances.

It was the 16th of *Auguſt* 1625, in the firſt Year of the King's Reign, that *Buckingham* cauſed the Captains of the Fleet under the Command of *Pennington*, to deliver it into the French Power to fight againſt the *Rochellers*; and while the Fleet was thus in the *French* Power, and after the Duke had received the horrible Affront of being denied Entrance into *France* in a peaceable and loving manner, about *Michaelmas* following, *viz.* about ſix Weeks after the Delivery of the Fleet, the Duke, as Lord High Admiral of *England*, by an extraordinary Commiſſion, ſeized the St. *Peter* of *New-haven*, (*John Mallerow* Maſter) laden with Goods, Merchandize and Money, to the value of 40000 *l.* upon the account of Monſieur *Villiers*, Governor of *New-haven*, and other *French* Merchants, as Prize; and the Duke took out of the ſaid Ship ſixteen Barrels of Cochineal, eight Bags of Gold, three and twenty Bags of Silver, two Boxes of Pearl and Emralds, a Chain of Gold, and Monies and Commodities to the value of 20000 *l.* and delivered them to *Gabriel Marſh* his Servant: Whereupon there was an Arreſt of two *Engliſh* Merchant Ships in *New-haven* upon the 7th of *December* following, *viz.* 1625. whereupon, by a Petition from the Merchants, the King ordered, *December* the 28th, That the Ship and Goods belonging to the *French* ſhould be re-delivered; upon this the Court of Admiralty decreed upon the 16th of *January* following, That the Ship with all the Goods (except three hundred *Mexico* Hydes, ſixteen Sacks of Ginger, one Box of gilded Beads, and five Sacks of Ginger) ſhould be releaſed from further Detention, and delivered to the Maſter;

A.D.1627 Maſter; yet the Duke not only detained to his own uſe the ſaid Gold, Silver, Pearl, Emeralds, Jewels and Money, but upon the 6th of *February* following, without any legal Proceedings, cauſed the ſaid Ship to be again arreſted and detained. And here began the ſeizing of our *Engliſh* Ships in *France*, which the Duke makes one of the Cauſes of the War.

Object. But this is but a Charge of the Commons upon the Duke, and therefore no direct Proof.

Anſw. It is not to be preſumed the Commons would have charged theſe Things thus particularly and poſitively without Proof; and I ſay moreover, they are to be taken for Truth, ſince the King did diſſolve the Parliament, rather than the Duke ſhould come to his Trial upon the Commons impeaching him hereupon; and 'tis worth Obſervation to ſee how without Counſel, and by contrary Extreams, the King and Duke engaged in both the Wars againſt *Spain* and *France*.

The Biſhop of *Litchfield*, in the ſecond Part of the Life of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, ſays, The next Day after King *James*'s Death, the King and Duke were buſied in many Cares, but the chief was, for the Continuation of the Parliament at King *James*'s Death: The Keeper ſhewed that the Parliament determined with the Death of the King; then the King ſaid, *Since Neceſſity required a new Parliament, his Will was that Writs forthwith be iſſued out of* Chancery *for a new Choice, and not a Day loſt.* The Keeper hereupon craved leave to be heard, and ſaid, It was uſual in Times before, that the King's Servants and Friends did deal with Counties, Cities and Boroughs where they were known, to procure a Promiſe for their Elections before the preciſe Time of any inſequent Parliament was publiſhed; and that the ſame Forecaſt would be good at this Time, which would not ſpeed if the Summons were divulged before they looked about them. The King anſwered, *It was his Time to have Subſidies granted for the War with the King of* Spain, *and the Fleet muſt go forth for that purpoſe this Summer.* To which the Keeper replied in few Words, and

and with ſo cold a Conſent, that the King turned away, and gave him leave to be gone, whereas the King diſſolved this Parliament, and loſt four Subſidies and three Fifteenths, to ſave the Duke, and make War upon *France*. *A. Reg.* 3.

Concealing the true Reaſon for this War with *France*, the Duke in his Declaration gives two other Reaſons of it; the firſt was, the refuſal of *Mansfield* to land his Army at *Calais*, according to Agreement, whereby the Deſign for the Recovery of the *Palatinate* was fruſtrate. *But why muſt this be a Reaſon at this Time of Day? for this was done in the Reign of King* James; *and when the Treaty of the Marriage with* France *was in being, Why was not then the Treaty broke off upon it? And why after this in King* Charles's *Reign, was the* Engliſh *Fleet put into the Power of the* French *to ſubdue the* Rochellers, *and this Buſineſs of* Mansfield's *not ſo much as taken notice of?*

The ſecond Reaſon was, The *French* ſeizing our *Engliſh* Merchant Ships in their Ports. *But this was after the Duke had ſeized and made Prize of the St.* Peter *of* New-haven; *ſo here the Duke begins making Prize upon the* French, *and makes War upon them for doing ſo by the* Engliſh. However, we have here a Declaration and Reaſon of a War againſt the *French*, ſuch as 'twas, tho' none could be had for the War with *Spain*.

Here you may ſee the unhappy Fate of Princes who treat their Subjects as Enemies, and their Flatterers and Favourites as their only Friends and Confidents; for notwithſtanding the King's ill Succeſs laſt Year to *Cadiz*, and the King's Complaint for want of Money in the *Exchequer*, and the ill Terms he was at with his Subjects, not only to be put upon making a War againſt the King of *Spain* and the Emperor, but now alſo againſt the King of *France*, and to have none but *Buckingham*, *Laud*, &c. and their Paraſites to ſupport him in all theſe Wars; and what could Humane Wiſdom foreſee of any good Succeſs in them, being againſt three the moſt potent Princes in *Chriſtendom*?

For the Charges to maintain theſe Wars, almoſt againſt *Chriſtendom*, the King requires a Benevolence of the Subject, and the Nobility to lend freely: Demands a Loan of [illegible] *l.* from the City of *London* to-

King requires a Benevolence

wards it

A.D.1627 don, charges the Ports of *England* to furniſh Ships upon their own Charges, iſſues out Privy-Seals for Benevolences in proportion to the four Subſidies and three Fifteenths voted by the Commons, grants a Commiſſion to execute Martial Law, billets Soldiers, and makes the Country pay their Quarters; the Rich who refuſe to pay the Loans are aſſeſſed, and bound over to anſwer at the Council-Table, and the other preſs'd for Soldiers. Theſe were the Ways this King took to juſtify his Integrity for the Weal of the Kingdom, ſo as to ſatisfy not only his own Conſcience, but his People, and the whole World, as he promiſed in his Declaration for Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Sibthorp and Manwaring preach up the King's Prerogative to Levy Taxes.

But leſt the King's Royal Proclamation for theſe Things ſhould be ſtumbled at, or diſputed, *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring* (two ſpecial Favourites of *Laud*) are ſet on work to preach, That the King is not bound to obſerve the Laws of the Land in his Government; and that his Royal Will in impoſing Loans and Taxes, does oblige the Subject's Conſcience upon Pain of Eternal Damnation.

Tho' theſe Things were ſettled to the Duke's Heart's Content, yet he had a Jealouſy, that in his Abſence the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* might give the King ſuch Council, as might ſpoil all the Glories of the Duke's Deſigns: and therefore to remove him not only from the Council-Table, but far enough out of the Way from coming into the King's Preſence, is the Deſign; but to put ſome Colour upon it, it was reſolved, That the King, by a ſpecial Meſſage, ſhould order the Archbiſhop to licenſe *Sibthorp*'s Sermon under his own Hand.

The Archbiſhop at this Time was ſorely afflicted with the Stone, and kept his Bed; when Mr. *Murray* brought the King's Command to him, the Biſhop could not forbear to take notice of the piece of Drudgery to be put upon him, the like whereof was never enjoined to any of his Predeceſſors, yet deſired my Lord *Conway* to leave the Sermon with him for ſome ſmall Time to peruſe, which my Lord did.

The Biſhop, inſtead of licenſing the Sermon, made Obſervations upon it, how falſe and inconſiſtible,

ble the Parts of the Sermon were to one another, and how contrary to Antiquity and the Authority of the Scripture; for one part of the Sermon juſtified *Ahab*'s taking away *Naboth*'s Vineyard, and he deſired to be ſatisfy'd about his Objections before he licenſed the Sermon. *A. Reg.* 3.

This gave the deſired Offence: for upon the Archbiſhop's refuſal to licenſe the Sermon, the Biſhop of *London* (who had allowed *John Coſins* his Book, called, *The Seventh Sacrament*, with all the Errors which were afterwards expunged) gave it a great and ſtately Allowance, and *Laud* was ordered to anſwer the Archbiſhop's Objections, and had the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Oxford* and *Rocheſter* to be his Aſſiſtants in it; and to this the Archbiſhop muſt reply without ſeeing the Anſwer.

For this ſpecial piece of Service in anſwering the Archbiſhop's Objections, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Laud* of *Bath* and *Wells*, are made Privy-Counſellors; and for the Archbiſhop's refuſal to licenſe the Sermon, he was not only baniſhed to his Houſe at *Ford*, five Miles beyond *Canterbury* (a mooriſh unhealthy Place) and that before he could lay in his Proviſions for Houſekeeping, but the Office of High-Commiſſion is taken from him, and the Exerciſe of it committed to the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Oxford*, *Rocheſter*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, which had ſo well anſwered the Archbiſhop's Objections.

On *July* the 27th the Duke is commiſſionated Admiral, and General of a *Navy Royal* of 100 Sail, and 6 or 7000 Land Soldiers; and when he came before *Rochel*, *Sobiez* came aboard of him, where, for ſeveral Reaſons, it was agreed to land the Army on the Iſle of *Oleron*, and not on the Iſle of *Rhee*; but *Sobiez* going to perſwade the *Rochellers* to join with the *Engliſh*, the Duke before his return lands on the Iſle of *Rhee*, in ſpite of the Oppoſition made by the *French*; but inſtead of purſuing the Blow, not only neglects to take the Fort *la Prie*, to ſecure his Retreat, and prevent the *French* from landing Supplies, but ſtays five Days, whereby *Toiras* the *French* Governor encouraged his Men, and alſo got more Force and Proviſions into the Citadel of St. *Martins*. The *French* *The Expedition to the Iſle of Rhee.*

A.D.1627 *French* were ſo alarm'd at this Invaſion, that the King offered the Duke of *Rohan* and the *Rochellers* any Terms to join againſt the *Engliſh*, which both refuſing, cauſed both their Ruins.

So that the Duke having made three falſe Steps, *viz.* his deceiving *Sobiez*, his not marching after landing, and not taking in the Fort *la Prie*, now let's ſee a fourth. The Enemy's Retreat upon the landing of the *Engliſh* was ſo haſty, that they quitted a Well about twenty Paces from the Counterſcarp, which ſupplied the Citadel with Water; which not being poſſeſt upon the firſt coming of the Army, the *French* drew a Work about it which the *Engliſh* could not force, and without which Well the beſieged could not have ſubſiſted; however, the Duke reſolved to take the Fort by Famine. We have marked four falſe Steps the Duke made; now obſerve the fifth, which was the Loſs of the whole Army, and Ruin of all the Proteſtant Party in *France*: for inſtead of the *French* joining with the *Engliſh* for the Recovery of the *Palatinate* by Land, the *Spaniards* now join the *French* againſt the *Engliſh* by Sea, to relieve St. *Martins*, and the Duke, inſtead of preſſing it by a ſtrait Siege, entertains a Treaty of Surrender with *Toiras*, and ſeveral Compliments paſt between them, ſubſcribed, Your humble Servant, *Buckingham*; and, Your humble Servant, *Toiras*; till *Toiras* got Relief of Men, Victuals and Ammunition, and then *Toiras* broke off the Treaty with the Duke.

Soon after the *French* landed Forces, by the neglect of the *Engliſh* to ſuppreſs them, and Orders were given to draw the *Engliſh* out of the Trenches, which the *French* poſſeſs; whereupon the *Engliſh* were forced to retreat, and fight the *French* to regain the Trenches: at laſt, the 6th of *November*, the Duke makes a vain Storm upon the Caſtle, and was beaten off; and upon the 8th, he retreats, the *French* being now equal to him in Foot, and ſuperior in Horſe: when the *Engliſh* were intangled in their Retreat, the Duke having neglected to take *la Prie*, or build a Fort upon a narrow Lane and Cauſey (to ſecure their Retreat) the *French* charged the *Engliſh* Horſe in the Rear, and rout them, who rout the Foot in the narrow

narrow Paſſages between the *Salt-pits*; thoſe that eſcaped were loſt in the *Salt-pits* and Ditches, and the Crowd was ſo great in paſſing a Bridge, that many were drown'd in the River: yet in this Confuſion and Adverſity, the Bravery of the *Engliſh* appeared; for a few having paſs'd the Bridge, the *French* following, the *Engliſh* rallied, and faced about to charge the *French*, who cowardly retreated over the Bridge. *A. Reg.* 3.

Except this little Action, yet as great in Fame as any other, the *Engliſh* Nation never received like Diſhonour, as in the looſe and unguided Conduct of this laſcivious Duke in this Expedition, of whom it may be truly ſaid, he was,

Mars ad Opus Veneris,
Martis ad Arma Venus.

Home he comes, and finds things as much in Diſorder, as he had left them in Diſhonour Abroad: the Priſons full of the moſt eminent Gentry of *England*, by a ſpecial Warrant from the King, for refuſing to lend, as they were aſſeſs'd by the Commiſſioners for the *Loan*, and Bail denied them upon return of their *Habeas Corpus*'s. An Army was kept on foot, when this Expedition had conſumed all that which ſhould have paid them, which had not been done in eighty Years before; the People fearing this was more to enſlave than defend them.

In this Confuſion Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Advice is call'd for by the King and Council, what's to be done; who, in a long and well compoſed Speech, beginning at *Charles* the 5th, ſets forth the Deſign of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to attain an univerſal Monarchy in theſe Weſtern Parts of *Europe*: How the Deſign was firſt check'd by *Henry* the 8th againſt *Charles*, but more by Queen *Elizabeth* againſt his Son *Philip* the 2d, they following a free Council, and thereby winning the Hearts of a loving People, ever found Hands and Money for all Occaſions. That the only way to raiſe Money ſpeedily and ſecurely, was the *Via Regia* by Parliament; other ways were unknown, untrodden, rough, tedious, and never ſucceeded well. That Religion lies neareſt the Conſcience of the Subject, and that there was a Jealouſy of ſome

A.D.1625 Practices againſt it: and that tho' the Duke of *Bucks* had broken the *Spaniſh* Match out of a Religious Care that the Articles demanded might endanger the State of the Reformed Religion, yet being an Actor in the *French* Match, as hard, if not worſe, paſſed than thoſe of *Spain*. He went on, and enumerated the Miſcarriages in theſe two laſt Years; the Waſte of the King's Revenue; the Preſſures upon the publick Liberty of the Subjects, in commanding their Goods without Conſent in Parliament, impriſoning their Perſons, without ſpecial Cauſe ſhewed; and this made good againſt them by the Judges. How to obviate theſe he leaves to the prudent Conſideration of the Council, but like old Sir *Charles Harboard*, wiſhed that the Duke might appear to be the firſt Adviſer for calling a Parliament, ſo that the People may be ſatisfied, this Parliament ſhould be called by the zealous Care and Induſtry of the Duke.

Condition of the Nation in Church and State, on the Meeting of a new Parliament.

Now the Hopes of getting Money by calling the Parliament, works more than the Laws of God, or ſacred Juſtice could do: for upon the 29th of *January*, Writs are iſſued out for them to meet the 17th of *March* following; the Priſon-Doors are opened, for the impriſoned Gentry to go Abroad; the Arch-biſhop, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Biſhop of *Lincoln*, have Writs to ſit in Parliament. But ſee the Unſtability of Reſolutions not founded in Truth, Juſtice or Prudence: for the next Day after the Writs for ſummoning the Parliament were agreed, the King, *January* the 30th, granted a Privy-Seal to *Burlemach*, for 30000 *l.* to be returned to Sir *William Balfour*, and *John Dalbier*, for raiſing a thouſand *German* Horſe, with Arms both for Horſe and Foot, to be ſent into *England*, *February* the 28th, where was an Army already upon free Quarter, and after grants a Commiſſion to twenty three Lords and others to raiſe Money upon Impoſitions, or otherwiſe.

Thus things ſtood in the State before the Meeting of the Parliament. Now let's ſee how they ſtood in the Church. *Barnevelt* having headed a Faction in *Holland*, which called themſelves *Arminians*, and deſigning by them to have depoſed the Prince of *Orange*, loſt his Head for it about four Years

Years before; now on the contrary, the *Arminian* Faction here, which called themſelves the Church of *England*, aſcribed all Dominion to the abſolute Power of the King: The Principals of this Faction were *Neal* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Richard Montague*, afterwards advanced to the Biſhopricks of *Chicheſter* and *Norwich*; this Faction was headed by the Duke. At this time the Jeſuits had taken a Houſe at *Clarkenwell*, deſigning to make a College of it, who in a Letter to the Father *Rector* of the Jeſuits at *Bruſſels*, boaſt that they had planted the ſovereign Drug *Arminianiſm*, which they hoped would purge the Proteſtants from their Hereſy, and that it flouriſhed, and bore Fruit in a due Seaſon; and they proceeded by Counſel and Conſideration, how and when to work upon the Duke's Jealouſy and Revenge; and in that they gave the Honour to thoſe who merit it, which were the *Church Catholicks*: they aſſured themſelves, they had made the Duke and the Parliament irreconcilable; and that they have thoſe of their Religion, who ſtand continually at the Duke's Chamber, to ſee who comes in, and who goes out: They glory how admirably in their Speech and Geſtures they act the *Puritans*, and the *Cambridge* Scholars ſhall find by woful Experience, they can act the *Puritans* better than they have done the *Jeſuits*: That their Foundation is *Arminianiſm*, that the *Arminians* and Projectors affect Mutation. *A. Reg.* 3.

Having thus laid the Foundation for propagating their Religion, the Jeſuits next Care was for the State; and in the firſt place they conſider the King's Honour and Neceſſities, and ſhew how the King may free himſelf of his Word, as *Lewis* the 11th did, and for greater Splendor and Luſtre; how he may raiſe a great Revenue, and not be beholden to his Subjects, which was by way of Exciſe, which muſt be by a mercenary Army of Horſe and Foot. For the Horſe they had made ſure they ſhould be Foreigners and *Germans*, who would eat up the King's Revenue, and ſpoil the Countries whereſoever they came, tho' they ſhould be paid; What Havock then will they make there when they get no Pay, or are not duly paid? they will do more Miſchief than we hope the Army will do.

A.D.1627 This mercenary Army of 2000 Horſe and 20000 Foot was to be taken into pay before the *Exciſe* be ſettled. In forming the *Exciſe*, the Country is moſt likely to riſe; if the Mercenary Army ſubjugate the Country, the Soldiers are to be paid out of the Confiſcations; they hope inſtantly to diſſolve Trade, and hinder the Building of Ships, by deviſing probable Deſigns, and putting the State upon Expeditions, as that of *Cadiz*, and in taking away the Merchants Ships, ſo that they may not eaſily catch, and light upon the *Weſt-India* Fleet.

A Jeſuit and nine Prieſts were taken with this, and many other Papers, which were deliver'd to Sir *John Cook*, Secretary of State; the Jeſuit was condemn'd, but repriev'd by the King, becauſe Sir *John Cook* ſaid; *The King delighted not in Blood:* and afterward the nine Prieſts were releaſed by ſpecial Warrant from the King; and the King, in his Reaſons for diſſolving the Parliament, makes the Houſe of Commons Enquiry into this Buſineſs to be an exorbitant Encroachment and Uſurpation, ſuch as was never before attempted by that Houſe. By this you may ſee the Religious Care this pious Prince had for the Church of *England*, and how much he regarded the Laws of *England*, or minded the Support of the poor Proteſtants in *France*, or the Re-eſtabliſhment of his Brother-in-law in the *Palatinate*.

Thus ſtood things when the Parliament met, when the King (as Men in a deep Lethargy, no ways ſenſible of their Pain, or the dangerous State they are in) not conſidering the dangerous State he was in both Abroad and at Home; Abroad in that he had made War upon the King of *Spain* without any Declaration of War, and that againſt his Father's Advice, and of his Council; and upon the King of *France*, wherein himſelf and his Favourite *Buckingham*, were the Aggreſſors; at Home by his unheard of Invaſions upon the Fortunes and Liberties of his Subjects, never before done by any King of *England*, in the ſhort Interval of theſe two Parliaments (ſcarce being nine Months) upon the Opening of the Parliament, far unlike his Father in the laſt Parliament of his Reign, when his Caſe was not near ſo dangerous

gerous as this King's (tho' their Neceſſities were equal, to get Money by Parliaments, when they could get it no other Way) begins his Speech. *A. Reg.* 3.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THeſe Times are for Action; wherefore for Example ſake I mean not to ſpend much Time in Words, expecting accordingly that your (as I hope) good Reſolutions will be ſpeedy, not ſpending Time unneceſſarily, or (that I may ſay) dangerouſly; for tedious Conſultations, at this Juncture of Time, are as hurtful as ill Reſolutions. *King's Speech in Parliament, with Remarks upon it.*

I am ſure you now expect from me, both to know the Cauſe of your meeting, and what to reſolve on; yet I think there is none here but knows, that common Danger is the Cauſe of this Parliament, and that Supply *at this time is the chief End of it, ſo that I need but point to you what to do.* All this but of *Supply* is Myſterious and General, and had need of an Interpreter.

The King goes on, and ſays, *I will uſe but few Perſwaſions; for if to maintain your own Advices, and as the Caſe now ſtands for the following thereof, the true Religion, Laws and Liberties of this State* (never ſo violated by any King of *England* before him) *and the juſt Defence of our true Friends and Allies, be not ſufficient, then no Eloquence of Men or Angels will prevail.*

What Parliament, or any other Council but that of *Buckingham*, adviſed him to make War, either upon the King of *Spain* or *France*? ſearch all the Records of the Journals of Parliament of 21 *Jac.* and *Ruſhworth*, *Franklin*, and Biſhop of *Litchfield*, and ſee if in any one of them there be one Sentence of making War againſt the King of *Spain*, but only to break off the Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Match, and for the *Palatinate*. But admit the Parliament had upon the Miſinformation of the King and Duke, adviſed the King to have made War upon the King of *Spain*; yet ſince the Earl of *Briſtol* ſo ſhamefully blaſted the whole Story not a Year ſince in open Parliament, without any Reply; How was this Parliament obliged to have made good what that had done? And ſince the King diſſolved the laſt Parliament, rather than the Duke ſhould be brought to Trial upon the Earl's Charge, which was a Failure of Juſtice, ſure.

A.D.1627 it had been more to the King's Honour, not to have mention'd this to the Parliament, than that what he had done was by their Advice.

Did this Parliament, or any other, ever adviſe him to put the Fleet under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Pennington*, into the *French* King's Power, to ſubdue the poor *Rochellers*, who never did him any wrong, to the Ruin of the Reformed Intereſt in *France*, and to be the Foundation of the *French* Grandeur by Sea; and then on the contrary, make War upon the *French* King, when he was the Aggreſſor? Did ever this, or any other Parliament, adviſe him to take his Subjects Goods by force, without and againſt Law, and impriſon their Perſons by his abſolute Will and Pleaſure, denying them the Benefit of their *Habeas Corpus*'s, the Birth-right of the Subject, and to continue them Priſoners during his Will, without allowing them a Trial by the Laws, whether they were guilty of any Crime or not? Or to execute Martial Law, impoſe new Oaths, and give Free-Quarter to Soldiers, in his own Kingdom, in time of Peace?

However, the King goes on, and ſays, *Only let me remember you, that my Duty moſt of all, and every one of yours according to his Degree, is, to ſeek the Maintenance of the Church and Commonwealth; and certainly there never was a time in which this Duty was more neceſſarily required than now.*

Was the Diſcharge of the Pack of Jeſuits, conſpiring the Ruin of Church and State with Impunity, for the Maintenance of the Church and Commonwealth? Or was the Commiſſion which the King granted the next Day after the Writs for the Aſſembling the Parliament, to raiſe Monies by Impoſition in the nature of Exciſe, to be levied throughout the Nation, for the Maintenance of the Church and State? And at the ſame time to order my Lord Treaſurer to pay 30000 *l.* to *Philip Burlemach*, a *Dutch* Merchant in *London*, to be by him returned into the *Low-Countries* by Bill of Exchange, to Sir *William Balfour* and *John Dalbier*, for the raiſing of a thouſand Horſe, with Arms both for Horſe and Foot, for the Maintenance of the Church and Commonwealth of *England*? And alſo to call a Council for levying *Ship-Money*, now he had

had by his own Will taken the Cuſtoms without any Grant of Parliament, for the Maintenance of the Church and State? *A. Reg.* 3

I therefore judging a Parliament to be the antient, ſpeedieſt, and beſt way, in this time of Common Danger, *to give ſuch Supply as to ſecure our ſelves, and ſave our Friends from imminent Ruin, have called you together. Every Man muſt do according to his Conſcience; wherefore if you (as God forbid) ſhould not do your Duties, in contributing what the State at this time needs, I muſt, in diſcharge of my Conſcience, uſe thoſe other means which God has put into my Hands, to ſave that which the Follies of particular Men may otherwiſe hazard to loſe.*

It's certain a Parliament is the beſt way, in time of *Common Danger*, to give Supplies, and ſecure the Nation from imminent Ruin, the Nation being moſt concern'd in it; yet what Parliamentary Advice did the King take the laſt nine Months? If the Nation and the King's Friends be in ſuch imminent Ruin, the King ſhould have declared who thoſe Friends were, and who they were which threatned this Ruin? When his Father died he was at Peace with all the World, and it was his own Wilfulneſs, that without any other Council but that of *Buckingham*, he made War upon *France* and *Spain*: and let any Man read the Paſſages of the ſhort time of his Reign, and judge if the imminent Ruin of the Nation were not from himſelf within, as well as without; and if the granting him further Supplies, would not more endanger the Nation, in carrying on his Deſigns in both.

Here note, Tho' the King had made no Conſcience of what he had done, yet he now tells the Parliament, If they ſhall not do their Duties in contributing what the State at this time needs, he muſt, in diſcharge of his Conſcience, uſe thoſe other Means which God hath put into his Hands, to ſave that which the Follies of particular Men may other ways hazard to loſe. The King ſhould have explained what other ways God put into his Hands to govern his Subjects, than by Juſtice, Judgment, and Righteouſneſs; for all other ways are unjuſt and wicked. And how any Man, how great ſoever, can plead Con-

A.D.1627 ſcience to perpetrate Injuſtice and Wickedneſs, muſt be unfolded by *Laud*, *Neal*, *Sibthorp*, *Manwaring*, *Montague*, *Wren*, *Heylin*, &c.

The King proceeds and ſays, *Take not this for a Threatning, (for I ſcorn to threaten any but my Equals) but an Admonition from him, that both out of Nature and Duty has moſt Care of your Preſervations and Proſperities.*

This is *Humano capiti cervicem jungere equinam.* What a Monſter does the King here make a Parliament? the Head ſo incomprehenſively big, and the Body ſo ſcornful and little? But if it ill becomes any Man to glory in his own Actions, it worſe becomes him to glory in that which he himſelf had not done. So that admit the King had been ſo ſuperlatively great, as to ſcorn all the World beſides, yet it would better have become any other to have ſaid it than the King. A Parliament is a Political Body, whereof the King is the Head; and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Repreſentatives of the Commons, the Body; and, What is the Head without the Body? Are not all the Members of every Body of Uſe for the Head? And does not the Head ſtand in need of every Member of the Body? But if the Head be overgrown, and too big, and the Body too ſcornful and lean, is not this not only monſtrous, but a Symptom of the Imperfection of the whole, and that it is in a declining and dangerous State?

Yet the King tells them, The End of calling this Parliament was for Supply. *And did ever King, or other Man, before him, tell thoſe from whom he expected Supply, or any other Benefit, that he ſcorn'd them? and if they do not their Duties, he would uſe other Means which God had put in his Hands, without telling what thoſe other Means were; and call them Fools, and particular Men, if they do not their Duties, to ſave what they may otherwiſe hazard to loſe? whereas heretofore the Kings of* England *ever thank'd the Parliament upon a Bill for Aids.*

But after all this, the Parliament muſt not take it for a Threatning, but an Admonition. An Admonition may be taken in a double Senſe; either to inſtruct another in his Duty, or to menace or threaten another, if he continues obſtinate in ſome Fault or Crime committed by that other: But this Admoni-

tion

tion of the King's in the Parliament, muſt not be taken for a Threatning of them, therefore it muſt be for their Inſtruction, ignorant of their Duties. *A. Reg.* 3.

A Parliament was called by the *Saxons Wittenage-Mote*, or the *Conventus Sapientum*, the Meeting of Wiſe Men, who met together to deliberate of the arduous and urgent Buſineſſes of the Kingdom, and concerning the State and Defence of the Kingdom and Church of *England*, and is called the *Common Council* of the Kingdom, and the *General Council* of the Kingdom, and the *Council* of the Kingdom. See 4th *Inſtitute* 2. And tho' the Writ of Summons of Parliaments be *Ad Tractandum & Deliberandum de certis arduis Regni negotiis, & pro ſtatu & defenſione Regni & Eccleſiæ Angliæ concernentibus*; yet the Parliaments of *England*, unlike the Convention of the States of *Scotland*, are not tied up to thoſe things only which the King propounds, but are free to treat and deliberate of all things which other ways concern the Kingdom and Church of *England*. So that the great End of the Meeting of Parliaments, is to adviſe the King: And all our *Saxon*, *Norman*, and *Britiſh* Kings, had ever Parliaments in ſo high an Eſteem, that we do not read any where, before theſe two Kings of the *Scotiſh* Race came to Reign over us, that ever any King and Parliament parted in Diſguſt; whereas ſince King *James* came to be King, five or ſix parted in Diſguſt; and God knows what would have become of the other, if King *James* had not died before the Parliament met again.

Did ever any King of *England* before, tho' he ſcorn'd to threaten the Parliament, yet admoniſh them of their Duties, or otherwiſe he would uſe thoſe other means than by Parliament, which God had put into his Hands? But *Quorſum hæc*? or where will the Deſigns of this young King ſtop? However, you may ſee by this Speech of the King's, that thoſe who govern'd him were as little Politicians as Orators.

But good Laws often ariſe from corrupt Times and bad Manners: for *Magna Charta* did ariſe from the Uſurpations of King *John*, and *Henry* III. above the Laws and Liberties of this Nation; ſo did the *Petition of Right*, the *Magna Charta* of this Age, from the Uſurpations

A.D.1627 pations of this King, ſince the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament to the Meeting of this, little more than nine Months. And as the old *Magna Charta* was no new Law, but a Declaration of the old, reſtored by *Henry* II. King *John*'s Father, called the *Avitæ Leges*; ſo neither was the *Petition of Right*, which enumerates the Breaches the King had made of *Magna Charta*, and manifold other Laws, before it prays Relief againſt them.

But theſe *Magna Charta*'s were obtained after different Manners, the old by cruel Wars: The Doctrines of *Paſſive Obedience*, and ſubmitting to the *Abſolute Will and Pleaſure* of the King, were Strangers to thoſe Days; and the Biſhops were ſo far from thoſe Doctrines, that they were the chief Promoters of *Magna Charta*, and ſtigmatized the Infringers of it, the King himſelf not excepted, with a dreadful *Anathema*.

Whereas neither *Rome* nor *Athens* could ever glory in ſuch an Aſſembly as the Commons of this Parliament were, for their Vertue and Learning; nor any Age produce ſuch a number of Men of the like Integrity to their Country, and humble Obedience to their Prince. Notwithſtanding the former Abuſes of this Reign, they proceeded with no Cenſures and Puniſhment of the King's evil Miniſters (except Dr. *Manwaring*) but only to repreſent to the King the Grievances of the Nation; and did not impeach the Duke of *Buckingham*, as they did in the laſt Parliament, nor proceed upon it, but only remonſtrated to the King the Evils which the exorbitant Greatneſs of the Duke brought upon the King and Nation; and how unſafe it would be to the Nation, to grant Aids to the King which were miſemployed for the exalting the Grandeur of the Duke. However, before they entred upon Grievances, they voted the King five entire Subſidies; which was the greateſt Tax that ever was before given to any King of *England* at once, and to be paid in the ſhorteſt Time. Now let's ſee, tho' but in Epitome, how theſe Things were changed, and what Returns the King made the Parliament and Nation.

The

The Unanimity of the Commons in the Gift, was not leſs than the Gift was great, being *nemine contradicente*; which ſo pleaſed the King, that he ſent them Word by Secretary Sir *John Cooke*, that he would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predeceſſors had granted them. Then the Commons fell upon Grievances, and voted the Impriſonment of any Freeman by Warrant from the King or Council, without a Cauſe alledged, to be a Grievance; and that the raiſing Monies by Loan, and impoſing an Oath upon the the Subject to diſcover the Value of his Eſtate, the Billeting of Soldiers, and exerciſing Martial Law in time of Peace, were Grievances. Then ſeveral Debates aroſe in the Houſe, How the Subjects ſhould be ſecured againſt theſe in Time to come. And upon the Motion of Sir *Edward Coke*, the Houſe agreed to ſue to the King by Petition, the moſt ancient and humble Addreſs in Parliament, That his Majeſty would give his People Aſſurance of their Rights by Aſſent in Parliament, as he uſes to paſs other Acts. The Houſe agreed to the Petition. The Duke of *Buckingham* and his Creatures were zealous to ſtop it in the Houſe of Lords; but he was much fall'n from his Luſtre, ſince his diſhonourable Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee* laſt Summer, and his Expedition to *Cales*. So as his Sway in the Houſe of Peers was much abated: Beſides, the Biſhops were not at this Time all of a-piece; for Archbiſhop *Abbot* urged his own Caſe, how he was baniſhed from his Houſes at *Croydon* and *Lambeth*, while the Duke was proſecuting his Voyage to the Iſle of *Rhee*, and confined to a mooriſh Manſion-Place at *Ford*, to kill him, and debarred from the Management of his Juriſdiction, and no Cauſe given for it. And Dr. *Williams* gave moſt learned and elegant Arguments for the Petition, which you may read at large in the ſecond Part of the Hiſtory of his Life, *fol.* 77, 78, 79. But this ſtuck cloſe to him, that neither the King nor *Laud* ever after forgot it; which you may read *fol.* 96. *tit.* 93. However, the Lords would not proceed to any determinate Vote, before they had heard the King's Council againſt the Petition, and the Commons Defence

A. Reg. 4.

Commons fall on Grievances.

A.D. 1628 fence of it; wherein no leſs Time was ſpent than ſix Weeks.

Beſides *Magna Charta*, the Commons fortified the Petition of Right with ſix other Acts of Parliament, explanatory of *Magna Charta*, *viz.* The Statute made in the Reign of *Edward* I. commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*; the Statute of 25 *Edward* III. where it is declared, *That from thenceforth no Perſon ſhall be compelled to make any Loans to the King againſt his Will, becauſe ſuch Loans were againſt Reaſon, and the Franchiſe of the Land.* The third was the Statute of 28 *Edward* III. *That no Man, of what Eſtate or Condition ſoever, ſhould be put out of his Lands or Tenements, nor Taken, nor Impriſoned, nor Diſherited, nor put to Death, without being brought to Anſwer by due Proceſs of Law.* The fourth Statute, the 25 *Edward* III. 9. and the ſixth, 9 *Hen.* III. 29. againſt exerciſing Martial Law in Times of Peace. Theſe Statutes were ſo well managed by the Commons in Defence of the Petition, that Sir *Robert Heath*, who was Attorney-General, and the reſt of the King's Council pleading, tho' eagerly, yet impertinently, had nothing to ſay materially againſt them, but ſubmitted to the Judgment of the Peers.

However, the Lords, before they would put the Vote, entred into a Committee of the whole Houſe, when my Lord *Say* moved, That thoſe Lords who ſtood for the Liberties of the Nation, might make their Proteſtation, and that to be upon Record; and the other oppoſite Party ſhould, with the Subſcription of their Names, enter their Reaſons to remain upon Record, that ſo Poſterity might not be to ſeek who they were that ſo ignobly betrayed the Freedom of our Nation: And this done, they ſhould proceed to Vote. This ſtruck ſuch a Daunt upon the other Party, that not one of them oppoſed it.

Lords and Commons agree on the Petition of Right.

The Lords agreed to the *Petition of Right*, but with this *Addition*, or *Saving*; *We preſent this our humble Petition to your Majeſty, with the Care not only of preſerving our Liberties, but with due Regard to leave entire that Sovereign Power wherewith your Majeſty is truſted, for the Protection, Safety, and Happineſs of the People.* But the Lords did not make any determinate Vote in it, but

but ſent it to the Commons to adviſe upon. Upon which Mr. *Noy* ſaid, *To add a* Saving, *it not ſafe; doubtful Words may beget ill Conſtruction: and the Words are not only doubtful, and Words unknown to us, but never uſed in any Act or Petition before.* *A. Reg. 4.*

And Sir *Edward Coke* ſaid, *This is the* Multum in parvo, *this is propounded to the Concluſion of our Petition; it is a Matter of great Weight; and to ſpeak plain, it will overthrow all our Petition; it trenches on all the Parts of it; it flies at* Loans, *at the* Oath, *at* Impriſonment, *and* billeting of Soldiers; *this turns all about again. Look into all Petitions of former Times, they never petitioned, wherein there was a* Saving *of the King's Sovereignty. I know Prerogative is part of the Law, but Sovereign Power is no Parliamentary Word: In my Opinion, it weakens* Magna Charta, *and all our Statutes, for they are abſolute, without any* Saving Power; *and ſhould we now add it, we ſhall weaken the Foundation of the Law, and then the Building muſt needs fall. Take we heed what we yield unto;* Magna Charta *is ſuch a Fellow, that he will have no Sovereign: I wonder this Sovereign was not in* Magna Charta, *or in the Confirmations of it. If we grant this, by Implication we give a Sovereign Power above all theſe Laws. Power in Law, is taken for a Power with Force: The Sheriff ſhall take the Power of the County: what is meant here, only God knows. It is repugnant to our Petition, grounded on Acts of Parliament. Our Predeceſſors could never endure a* Salvo jure ſuo, *no more than the Kings of old could endure for the Church,* Salvo honore Dei & Eccleſiæ. *We muſt not admit this; and to qualify it is impoſſible. Let us hold our Privileges according to the Law: that Power which is above this, is not fit for the King or People to have it diſputed further. I had rather, for my part, have the Prerogative acted, and I my ſelf lie under it, than have it diſputed.* *Debates upon it.*

Sir *Thomas Wentworth* ſaid, *If we admit of this* Addition, *we leave the Subject worſe than we found him; and we ſhall have little Thanks for our Labour when we come Home. Let us leave all Power to his Majeſty to puniſh Malefactors; but theſe Laws are not acquainted with Sovereign Power. We deſire no new Thing; nor do we offer to trench upon his Majeſty's Prerogative. We may not recede from our Petition neither in part or whole.*

Mr.

A.D. 1128 Mr. *Selden* ſaid, *Let us not go haſtily to the Queſtion; if there be any Objections, let any propound them, and let others anſwer them as they think good: If it* (the Saving) *hath no Reference to our Petition, what does it here? I am ſure others will ſay it hath Reference, and ſo muſt we; how far it does exceed all Examples of former Times, no Man can ſhew the like.* Then he ſhews the manifold Statutes, beſides *Magna Charta*, wherein is no ſuch *Saving*. And whereas Mr. *Speaker* ſaid, *The King was our Heart, and ever ſhall be*; but then Mr. *Selden* ſaid, *We ſpake of the King's Prerogative, and we are bound to ſay ſo; but when we ſpeak of our Rights, we are not to be impriſoned, Saving but by the King's Sovereign Power. Say, my Lands* (without any Title) *be ſeized into the King's Hand, and I bring a Petition of Right, and I go to the King, and ſay, I do by no means ſeek your Majeſty's Title; and after that I bring a Petition or* Monſtrance de droit, *ſetting forth my own Right and Title, and withal ſet down a* Saving *that I leave entire his Majeſty's Right; it would be improper.* Then he cites many Statutes wherein there are *Savings*, but no ways pertinent to this, which you may read at large in *Ruſhworth's Collections* and *Franklin's Annals*. And, in truth, it troubles me, I am forced to curtail this, not only in Mr. *Selden*, but other Noble Perſons, by reaſon the Treatiſe would ſwell to a greater Bulk than I deſigned it.

The Lords afterwards had a Conference with the Commons to fortify their *Addition*, managed by my Lord Keeper, which was anſwered by Mr. *Maſon*: And after that the Commons, deſired another Conference with the Lords, and ordered Serjeant *Glanville* to argue the legal Part of the Petition, and Sir *Henry Martin* the rational part of it; which they did ſo well, that at a Conference, *May* 26. 1628. between both Houſes, the Lord Keeper from the Lords told the Commons, the Lords agreed with them *in omnibus* of their Petition, only in the Alteration of two Words, *viz.* [*Means*] for *Pretext*, and for the Word [*unlawful*] (*not warrantable by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.*)

The Houſes thus happily accorded, the Petition, with the foreſaid Amendments, were read two ſeveral Times in the Houſe of Commons, and then upon

on the Queſtion, voted to be engroſſed, and read a third Time, and the Houſe to ſit in the Afternoon till it was engroſſed and read, and ordered to be preſented to the King, in which there was not one Negative: And the Bill for the Subſidies was read a ſecond time, and committed; and upon *Wedneſday* the 28th, the Lords and Commons had a Conference about the Manner of Delivery of the Petition; and Sir *Edward Coke* reported, That their Lordſhips were agreed, That no Addition or Preface be uſed to the King, but that the Petition be preferred to his Majeſty by the Command of the Lords and Commons; and that his Majeſty be deſired, to the Content of his People, he would give his Gracious Anſwer in full Parliament. *A. Reg.* 4.

In all theſe Tranſactions the King was very uneaſy; fain he would have the Money, (the Bill for the Subſidies having been read a ſecond Time) yet was unwilling to anſwer the Petition. The Houſe was aware of this, and therefore agreed the Petition before they would paſs the Money-Bill. Upon the 12th of *April*, the King, by Secretary *Cook*, acquainted them of the Neceſſity of the Supply, and expected ſome Fruit of what was ſo happily begun; but finding a Stop beyond all Expectation of ſo good a Beginning, the Secretary was therefore commanded to tell them, That without any further or unneceſſary Delay, they proceed in this Buſineſs; *and bid them therefore take heed, that they force him not to make an unpleaſing end of that which was ſo well begun.* And two Days after the Secretary quickned the Buſineſs of the Supply again.

Upon the 2d of *May* the King ſent a Meſſage by Secretary *Cook*, That as he would rank himſelf amongſt the beſt of Kings, wherein he has no Intention to invade or impeach our lawful Liberties: ſo he would have them to match themſelves with the beſt of Subjects, not by encroaching upon that Sovereignty or Prerogative which God had put into his Hands for their Good; and that this Seſſions of Parliament muſt continue no longer than *Tueſday* come Seven Night at the fartheſt; and that his Royal Intention is, to have another Seſſion at *Michaelmas* next, for

A.D.1628 for the perfecting ſuch Things as cannot now be done. Now let's ſee how unwillingly the King was brought to paſs the Petition.

Upon the 16th of *May*, Secretary *Cook* preſſed the Houſe to rely upon the King's Word, and that the King promiſed to govern them by the Laws, and that they ſhall enjoy as much Freedom as ever, and that this might be debated in the Houſe; but Sir *John Elliot* anſwered, That the Proceedings in a Committee is more honourable and advantagious to the King and Houſe, with whom the Houſe agreed.

In the Debate of this Committee, ſome were for the Bill to reſt; but Sir *Edward Coke*'s Reaſons prevailed to the contrary: *Was it ever known*, ſaid he, *that* General Words *were a ſufficient Satisfaction to* particular Grievances? *Was ever a Verbal Declaration of the King*, Verbum Regni? *When Grievances be, the Parliament is to redreſs them: Did ever Parliament rely on Meſſages? They put up Petitions of their Grievances, and the King anſwered them: The King's Anſwer is very gracious, but what is the Law of the Realm, that's the Queſtion. I put no Diffidence in his Majeſty, the King muſt ſpeak by Record, and in Particulars, not in Generals: Did you ever know the King's Meſſage to a Bill of Subſidies? All ſucceeding Kings will ſay*, You muſt truſt me as well as you did my Predeceſſors, and truſt my Meſſages: *but Meſſages never came into a Parliament: Let us put up a Petition of Right, not that I diſtruſt the King, but that I cannot take his Truſt but in a Parliamentary way.*

Hereupon the Commons deſired a Conference with the Lords, which was managed by Sir *Edward Coke*, who ſaid,

Conferences between the Lords and Commons.

My Lords, it is evident what Neceſſity there is, both in reſpect of your ſelves and your Poſterity, to have good Succeſs in this Buſineſs; we have acquainted your Lordſhips with the Reaſons and Arguments, and after we have had ſome Conference we have received from your Lordſhips Propoſitions, and it behoves us to give your Lordſhips ſome Reaſons why you have not heard from us before now; for in the mean time, as we were conſulting this weighty Buſineſs, we have received divers Meſſages from our great Sovereign the King, and they conſiſted of five Parts.

1. That

1. *That his Majeſty would maintain all his Subjects in their juſt Freedom, both of their Perſons and Eſtates.* 2. *That he will govern according to his Laws and Statutes.* 3. *That we ſhall find much Confidence in his Royal Word:* I pray obſerve that. 4. *That we ſhall enjoy all our Rights and Liberties, with as much freedom as ever Subjects have done in former Times.* 5. *That whether we think fit, either by Bill, or otherways, to go on in this great Buſineſs, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to give way to it.* *A. Reg.* 4.

Theſe gracious Meſſages did ſo work upon our Affections, that we have taken it into deep Conſideration. My Lords, when we had theſe Meſſages (I deal plainly, for ſo I am commanded by the Houſe of Commons) we did conſider what way would be our moſt ſecure way, nay yours: We did think it the ſafeſt way to go on in a Parliamentary Courſe; for we have a Maxim in the Houſe of Commons, and written in the Wall of our Houſe, That old Ways are the ſafeſt and ſureſt Ways: *And at laſt we did fall upon that, which we think (if your Lordſhips did conſent with us) the moſt antient of all, and that is, my Lords, the* Via fauſta, *both to his Majeſty, to your Lordſhips, and to our ſelves: For, my Lords, this is the greateſt Bond that any Subject can have in open Parliament,* Verbum Regis: *That is a high Point of Honour, but this muſt be done by the Lords and Commons, and aſſented to by the King in Parliament: This is the greateſt Obligation of all, and this is for the King's Honour, and our Safety. Therefore, my Lords, we have drawn the Form of a Petition, deſiring your Lordſhips to concur with us therein, for we do come with an unanimous Conſent of all the Commons, and there is great Reaſon your Lordſhips ſhould do ſo, for your Lordſhips be involved in the ſame Danger;* and then the Petition was read.

Upon the 20th of *May*, the King wrote a Letter to the Houſe of Lords, wherein he ſaid, That as he had given leave to free Debates upon the higheſt Points of his *Prerogative Royal*, which in the Times of his Predeceſſors were ever reſtrained, as Matters they would not have diſcuſſed, yet he finds it inſiſted upon, that in no Cauſe whatſoever he and his Council could commit without Cauſe ſhewed, which, if granted, would diſſolve the Frame of the Monarchy: That as he had *King's Letter to the Houſe of Lords about his Prerogative Royal.*

A.D. 1628 made fair Propoſitions to the Commons, which might eaſily preſerve the Liberty of the Subject; ſo he thought good to let their Lordſhips know, that without the overthrow of the Sovereignty he could not ſuffer his Power to be impeached; yet that he will extend it beyond the juſt Rule of Moderation, *&c.* which he thought good to ſignify, the rather to ſhorten the long Debates upon this great Queſtion, the Seaſon of the Year being ſo far advanced, and his great Occaſions of State not lending many more Days for the Continuance of the Session. The ſame Day the Lords communicated the Letter to the Commons, upon which Sir *Thomas Wentworth* ſaid, It was a Letter of Grace, but the People will only like that which is done in a Parliamentary Way, and the Debate upon it would take up much Time; neither was it directed to the Commons, and the *Petition of Right* would clear all Miſtakes; for ſome give out as if the Houſe went to pinch the King's Prerogative, and ſo the Letter was laid aſide. Theſe were while the Petition was in debate, and before it was agreed to by both Houſes; but after it was agreed upon, the ſecond of *June* the King came into the Houſe of Lords, and having ſent for the Commons, ſaid,

Gentlemen,

I Am come hither to perform my Duty, I think no Man can think it long, ſince I have not taken ſo many Days in anſwering your Petition, as you have ſpent Weeks in framing it. I am come hither to ſhew you, that as well in formal Things, as in eſſential, I deſire to give you as much Content as in me lies.

Then the Lord Keeper ſaid,

MY Lords, and ye the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, the King hath commanded me to ſay unto you, That he takes it in good part, that in Conſideration of ſettling your own Liberties, ye have generally profeſſed in both Houſes that ye have no Intention to leſſen or diminiſh his Majeſty's Prerogative; wherein as ye have cleared your Intentions, ſo now his Majeſty comes

to

to clear his, and to ſubſcribe a firm League with his People, which is ever likely to be moſt conſtant and perpetual, when the Conditions are moſt equal, and known to be ſo: Theſe cannot be in a more happy State, than when your Liberties ſhall be an Ornament and Strength of his Majeſty's Prerogative, and his Prerogative a Defence of your Liberties, in which his Majeſty doubts not, but that both he and you ſhall take a mutual Comfort hereafter; and for his part, he is reſolved to give an Example in uſing his Power for the Preſervation of your Liberties, that hereafter you ſhall have no cauſe to complain; and that they here read their own Petition, and his Majeſty's gracious Anſwer. A. Reg. 4.

Then the Petition was read, to which the King anſwered, *The King willeth that Right be done according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm; and that the Statutes be put in due Execution, that his Subjects may have no cauſe to complain of any Wrong or Oppreſſions, contrary to their juſt Rights and Liberties, to the Preſervation of which he holds himſelf in Conſcience as well obliged, as of his Prerogative.* *King's Anſwer to the Petition of Right not ſatisfactory.*

This Anſwer no ways ſatisfied the Commons; whereupon Sir *John Elliot* made a pathetick and lively Repreſentation of the Grievances of the Nation within, and of the Danger and Weakneſs of it by the Miſmanagement and Abuſe of the King's Miniſters; and therefore wiſhed that it might ſo ſtand with the Wiſdom and Judgment of the Houſe, that theſe Dangers and Grievances may be drawn into the Body of a Remonſtrance, and therein humbly expreſt with a Prayer to his Majeſty, for the Safety of himſelf, and for the Safety of the Kingdom, and for the Safety of Religion, that he would be pleaſed to give the Houſe Time to make perfect Inquiſitions thereof; or to take it into his own Wiſdom, and there give them ſuch timely Reformation, as the neceſſity of the Cauſe and his Juſtice does import. While the Remonſtrance was in Agitation, the King, rather than hear of what he had done, did not care what he did, and therefore the Speaker brought a Meſſage, That his Majeſty having upon the Petition exhibited by both Houſes, given an Anſwer ſo full of Juſtice and Grace, for which we and our Poſterity have juſt cauſe to bleſs his Majeſty; it is now time to draw to a *King's Meſſage to the Commons by the Speaker.*

A.D.1628 a Concluſion of the Seſſion, and therefore his Majeſty thinks fit to let them know, That he does reſolve to abide by that Anſwer without further Change or Alteration, and ſo he will Royally and Really perform unto them what he had thereby promiſed: And further, That he reſolves to end this Seſſion upon *Wedneſday* the 11th of this Month; and that this Houſe ſhould ſeriouſly attend thoſe Buſineſſes, which may bring the Seſſion to a happy Concluſion, without entertaining new Matters, and ſo to husband the Time, that his Majeſty may with more Comfort bring them ſpeedily together again; at which time, if there be any further Grievances not contained or expreſſed in the Petition, they may be more maturely conſidered than the Time will now permit. But this did not diſturb the Commons, but they proceeded in their Declaration againſt Dr. *Manwaring*, and the ſame Day preſented it to the Lords at a Conference, which was managed by Mr. *Pym*. They impeached him upon theſe three Points in his Sermons of Allegiance and Religion. 1. That he affirmed, that the King is not bound to keep and obſerve the good Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, concerning the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; and that his Royal Will and Command in impoſing Loans, Taxes, and other Aids upon his People, without common Conſent in Parliament, does ſo far bind the Conſciences of the Subjects of this Kingdom, that they cannot refuſe the ſame without peril of Eternal Damnation. 2. That thoſe of his Majeſty's Subjects that refuſed the *Loan*, did therein offend againſt the Law of God, and againſt his Majeſty's Supream Authority, and by ſo doing, became guilty of Impiety, Diſloyalty, Rebellion and Diſobedience, and liable to many other Taxes and Cenſures, which he in the ſeveral Parts of his Book does moſt falſly and maliciouſly lay upon them. 3. That the Authority of Parliament is not neceſſary for the raiſing of Aids and Subſidies; that the ſlow Proceedings of ſuch Aſſemblies are not fit to apply the urgent Neceſſities of State, but rather apt to produce ſundry Impediments to the juſt Deſign of Princes, and to give them occaſion of Diſpleaſure and Diſcontent. Where-

Dr. Manwaring *proſecuted and ſentenced.*

Whereupon the Commons demanded Judgment against the Doctor, not accounting his Submiſſion with Tears and Grief a Satisfaction for the Offence charged upon him; and the Lords gave this Sentence. *A. Reg.* 4.

1. *That he ſhould be impriſon'd during the Pleaſure of the Houſe.*

2. *That he ſhould be fined* 1000 l. *to the King.*

3. *That he ſhould make ſuch Submiſſion and Acknowledgment of his Offences as ſhall be ſet down by a Committee in Writing, both at this Bar and the Houſe of Commons.*

4. *That he ſhall be ſuſpended for the Term of three Years from the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry, and in the mean time a ſufficient preaching Miniſter ſhall be provided to ſerve the Cure out of his Livings; this Suſpenſion and Proviſion to be done by the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.*

5. *That he ſhall be diſabled hereafter to have any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, or Secular Office.*

6. *That he ſhall be diſabled hereafter ever to preach at Court.*

7. *That his Book is worthy to be burnt: and that for the better effecting of this, his Majeſty may be moved to grant a Proclamation to call in the ſaid Books, that they may be burnt accordingly in* London, *both the Univerſities, and for the inhibiting the printing thereof, upon a great Penalty.*

This Cenſure immediately ſucceeding Sir *John Elliot*'s Repreſentation of Grievances, ſtartled *Laud* as much as Sir *John*'s Repreſentation did the Duke of *Buckingham*; and the King, that he might not hear of any more Buſineſs of this kind, upon the 5th of *June*, commanded the Speaker to let the Houſe know, that he will certainly hold to the Day fixed for ending the Seſſion, *viz.* the 11th, and therefore requires them, that they enter not into, nor proceed in any new Buſineſs which may ſpend greater time, or which may lay any Scandal or Aſperſion upon the State-Government, or the Miniſters thereof.

This put the Houſe into a fearful Conſternation, whereupon the Houſe declared, *That every Member of the Houſe is free from any undutiful Speech from the beginning* *Commons Declaration.*

A.D.1628 *ning of the Parliament to that day, and ordered the Houſe to be turned into a Committee, to conſider what was to be done for the Safety of the Kingdom, and that no Man go out of the Houſe upon pain of being committed to the Tower.* But before the Speaker left the Chair, he deſired leave to go forth, which the Houſe granted.

Then Sir *Edward Coke* ſpake freely; "We have "dealt with that Duty and Moderation that never "was the like. *Rebus ſic ſtantibus*, after ſuch a Viola- "tion upon the Liberties of the Subjects, let us "take this to Heart. In 30 *Edw.* 3. were they then "in any doubt to name Men that miſled the King? "They accuſed *John* of *Gaunt* the King's Son, the "Lords *Latimer* and *Nevil* for miſadviſing the King, "and they went to the *Tower* for it; now when there "is ſuch a downfall of the State, ſhall we hold our "Tongues? How ſhall we anſwer our Duty to God "and Men? 7 *Hen.* 4. *Parl. Rot.* 31, 32. 11 *Hen.* 4. "*Numb.* 13. there the Council are complain'd of and "removed from the King; they mewed up the "King, and diſſwaded him from the common Good; "and why are we turned from that way we were "in? Why may not we name thoſe that are the "Cauſe of all our Evils? In the 4 *H.* 3. 21 *E.* 3. "13 *R.* 2. the Parliament moderated the King's Pre- "rogative; and nothing grows to Abuſe, but this "Houſe hath Power to treat thereof. What ſhall "we do? Let us palliate no longer, if we do, God "will not proſper us; I think the Duke of *Bucks* is "the Cauſe of all our Miſeries, and till the King "be informed thereof, we ſhall neither go out with "Honour, nor ſit with Honour here; That Man is "the Grievance of Grievances; let us ſet down the "Cauſes of all our Diſaſters, and all will reflect on "him. As for going to the Lords, that is not *via* "*Regia*, our Liberties are now impeached, we are "concerned; it is not *via Regia*, the Lords are not "participant with our Liberties.

Mr. *Selden* adviſed, That a Declaration be drawn under four Heads; Firſt, To expreſs the Houſe's du- tiful Carriage to the King. Secondly, To render the Liberties violated. Thirdly, To preſent what the Houſe was to have dealt in. Fourthly, That

that

that great Perſon, *viz.* the Duke, fearing to be queſtioned, did interpoſe this Diſtraction: "All this "time, ſaid he, we have caſt a Mantle on what was "done laſt Parliament. But now being driven again "to look on that Man, let us proceed with that "which was then well begun, and let the Charge "be renewed that was laſt Parliament againſt him, "to which he made an Anſwer, but the Particulars "were ſufficient, that we may demand Judgment "upon that Anſwer only. *A. Reg.* 4.

In Concluſion, the Houſe agreed upon ſeveral Heads concerning Innovations in Religion, the Safety of the King and Kingdom, Miſgovernment, Misfortune of our late Deſigns, with the Cauſes of them: and when the Queſtion was putting, that it ſhould be inſtanced that the Duke was the principal and chief Cauſe of all thoſe Evils, the Speaker came in and ſaid, that the King commands for the preſent, that the Houſe adjourn till to Morrow, and that all Committees ceaſe, which was done accordingly. And upon the 7th of *June*, the King in Parliament paſſed the *Petition of Right*, whereupon there was an univerſal Joy all over the City; and the Commons returned to their own Houſe with unſpeakable Joy, and reſolved ſo to proceed, as might expreſs their Thankfulneſs; and order the grand Committees for Religion, Trade, Grievances, and Courts of Juſtice to ſit no longer, but that the Houſe proceed only in Conſideration of Grievances of moſt moment; which was their *Remonſtrance* to the King, of the weak, diſtracted, and dangerous State of the Kingdom: which was done in the moſt pathetick and humble manner which could be expreſſed, and preſented to the King in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, upon the 17th of *June*. It conſiſted of theſe ſix Branches.

1. The Danger of the Innovation and Alteration of Religion; This occaſioned by, Firſt, The great Eſteem and Favour many of the Profeſſors of the *Romiſh Religion* receive at Court. Secondly, Their publick Reſort to Maſs at *Denmark*-Houſe, contrary to his Majeſty's Anſwer to the Parliament's Petition about Innovations. *Commons Remonſtrance to the King about Innovations.*

*A.D.*1628 at *Oxford*. Thirdly, Letters to ſtay Proceedings againſt them. Laſtly, The daily Growth of the *Arminian* Faction, favoured and protected by *Neal* Biſhop of *Winchester*, and *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, whilſt the Orthodox Party are ſilenced or diſcountenanced.

2. Dangers of Innovation and Alteration in Government; occaſioned by Billeting Soldiers, by Commiſſion of procuring 1000 *German* Horſe and Riders for the Defence of the Kingdom, by a ſtanding Commiſſion granted to the Duke to be General at Land in time of Peace.

3. Diſaſters of our Deſigns; as the Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*, and that lately to *Rochel*, wherein the *Engliſh* have purchaſed their Diſhonour, with the waſte of a Million of Treaſure.

4. The Want of Ammunition; occaſioned by the ſelling thirty ſix Laſts of Gunpowder at low Rates.

5. The Decay of Trade; by the Loſs of three hundred Ships taken by the *Dunkirkers*, and other Pirates, within the three laſt Years.

6. The not guarding the narrow Seas; whereby his Majeſty has almoſt loſt the Regality. *Here note, That none of theſe, except Billeting of Soldiers, which was yet continued, were contained in the Petition of Right.*

Of all which Evil and Dangers, the principal Cauſe is the Duke of *Buckingham*, his exceſſive Power, and Abuſe of that Power; and therefore humbly ſubmit it to his Majeſty's Wiſdom, whether it can be ſafe for himſelf and Kingdom, that ſo great Power ſhould be truſted in the Hands of any one Subject whatſoever.

It's obſervable, how croſs the King ſet himſelf againſt the Commons in this *Remonſtrance:* for in the laſt Parliament, when the Commons impeached the Duke, and the Earl of *Briſtol* exhibited Articles againſt him, the King ordered the Attorney-General to exhibit an Information againſt the Duke in the Star-Chamber, for the great Miſdemeanors and Offences complained of againſt him by the Commons and Earl; thereby to have ſtopt their Proceeding againſt the Duke in Parliament, as he would have taken the Earl's Cauſe out of Parliament and proceeded againſt

againſt him by Indictment. But the King hearing of this *Remonſtrance* of the Commons the Day before the Commons preſented it, *viz.* upon the 16th of *June*, cauſed the Attorney-General to take the ſaid Information, and all the Proceedings to be taken off the File, for that his Majeſty was fully ſatisfied of the Duke's Innocency in all thoſe things mentioned in the Information, as well by his own certain Knowledge, as by the Proofs taken in the Cauſe. *A. Reg. 4.*

This was the firſt Fruit the Parliament and Nation reaped by the *Petition of Right*. Now let's ſee the next, and whether the Commons deſerved ſuch a Cenſure as the King made upon them at the Prorogation of the Parliament.

After the Commons had preſented a Remonſtrance of their other Grievances to the King, they then took into Conſideration the preparing a Bill for granting his Majeſty a Subſidy of Tunnage and Poundage, as might uphold the King's Profit and Revenue in as ample a manner as their juſt Care and Reſpect of Trade would permit. But this being a Work of Time, and would require much Time and Conference with Merchants, and others; and being often interrupted by Meſſages from the King, and the Shortneſs of Time limited by the King for concluding this Seſſions; and fearing the King might be miſinformed of this Particular, they were forced, by the Duty which they owed to his Majeſty, to declare, *That there ought not any Impoſition to be laid upon Goods of Merchants exported or imported, without Common Conſent by Act of Parliament.*

For Manifeſtation whereof, they deſired his Majeſty to underſtand, "That tho' the Kings of this "Realm had often Subſidies granted them upon di- "vers Occaſions, eſpecially for guarding the Seas, "and Safeguard of Merchants; yet the Subjects "have been ever careful to uſe ſuch Cautions and "Limitations in theſe Grants, that they did proceed "not from Duty, but the free Gift of the Subjects; "and that heretofore they uſed to limit a time for "ſuch Grants, and for the moſt part but ſhort, as "for a Year or two; and at other times it has been "granted upon occaſion of War, with *Proviſo*, that

"if

A.D.1628 " if the War ended in the mean time, then the
" Grant ſhould ceaſe; and of courſe it has been ſe-
" queſtred into the Hand of ſome Subject, to be
" employed for Guarding of the Seas: very few of
" the King's Predeceſſors had it for Life, until the
" Reign of *Henry* VII. who was ſo far from conceiv-
" ing he had any Right thereunto, that altho' he
" granted Commiſſions for collecting certain Duties
" and Cuſtoms due by Law, yet made none for re-
" ceiving the Subſidies of Tunnage and Poundage,
" till it was granted in Parliament. Since his time,
" all Kings and Queens have had ſuch Grants for
" Life, by the free Love and Good-will of the Sub-
" jects: but whenſoever the People have been grie-
" ved by laying on any other Impoſition or Charges
" upon their Goods and Merchandize without Au-
" thority of Law (which has been very ſeldom)
" yet upon Complaint in Parliament they have been
" relieved; ſaving in the time of your Royal Fa-
" ther, who having through ill Counſel raiſed the
" Rates and Charges upon Merchandize to that
" height at which they now are, yet he was pleaſed
" ſo far to yield to the Complaint of his People, as
" to offer, That if the Value of ſuch Impoſitions as
" he had ſet might be made good unto him, he
" would bind himſelf and his Heirs, by Act of Par-
" liament, never to lay any more; which Offer the
" Commons did not yield to. Nevertheleſs, your
" Loyal Commons in this Parliament, out of ſpe-
" cial Zeal to your Majeſty's Service, and eſpecial
" Regard of your preſſing Occaſions, have taken
" into their Conſideration, ſo to frame a Grant of
" Subſidy of Tunnage and Poundage to your Ma-
" jeſty, that both you might have been better en-
" abled for the Defence of your Realm, and your
" Subjects, by being more ſecure from all undue
" Charges, be more encouraged chearfully to proceed
" in Trade; by encreaſe whereof, your Majeſty's Pro-
" fit, and likewiſe the Strength of the Kingdom, would
Commons Declaration about the Cuſtoms. " be much augmented. There was no Courſe left to
" them, without manifeſt Breach of their Duty to
" his Majeſty and Country, ſave only to make this
" Declaration, *That the receiving Tunnage and Poun-*
" *dage,*

" *dage, and other Impoſitions, not granted by Parliament,* *A. Reg. 4.*
" *is a Breach of the Fundamental Liberties of this Kingdom,*
" *and contrary to your Majeſty's Royal Anſwer to the Pe-*
" *tition of Right.*

The King, who had ſo unwillingly heard the Commons Remonſtrance againſt the Duke before the Bill of Subſidies was paſſed both Houſes, now it was paſt both Houſes, was reſolved to hear no more of this: and therefore when this *Remonſtrance* concerning the Tunnage and Poundage was engroſſed, and reading in the Houſe, the King ſent for the Speaker, and the Houſe, to the Houſe of Lords; where the King came ſo unexpectedly, that the Lords had not put on their Robes, nor had the Commons given the Speaker any Order or Direction to deliver the Bill of Subſidies, neither was it brought down to the Commons again, as is uſual.

When the Commons came to the Lords Houſe, the King ſaid, *It may ſeem ſtrange that I come ſo ſuddenly to end this Seſſion, before I give my Aſſent to the Bills. I will tell you the Cauſe, tho' I muſt avow, that I owe the Account of my Actions to God alone: It is known to every one of you, that a while ago the Houſe of Commons gave me a Remonſtrance, how acceptable every Man may judge; and for the Merit of it, I will not call that in queſtion, for I am ſure no wiſe Man can juſtify it.* *King's Speech to the Parliament, with Remarks.*

Did ever any King of *England*, but this King's Father and himſelf, treat a Parliament, or either Houſe, at this Rate before? At the opening of the Parliament he calls them *Fools*, if they would not do as he would have them; and now he tells the Commons, *No wiſe Man can juſtify their Advice to him.* I'm ſure, a wiſer Man than this King, or his Father, ſays, *He that wins Souls is wiſe*; and if you convert the Propoſition, *He that provokes them is otherwiſe.* Heretofore the Kings of *England*, and, I believe, all prudent and civilized Princes, ever forbore to give any Petitioners harſh Language; if their Petitions did not pleaſe, their uſual Anſwer was, *The King will conſider, or be adviſed upon them.*

One great End of the Meeting of Parliaments is, truly, to repreſent to the King the State of the Kingdom, (which is rarely done by Flatterers and Favourites,

A.D.1628 rites, whoſe Intereſt is contrary to that of the Kingdom) and if any thing be done in Prejudice of the King and Kingdom, that both may be redreſſed in Parliament. In the Commons *Remonſtrance* to the King, they ſet forth the weak and dangerous State of the Kingdom, equally dangerous to the King and Kingdom: Does the King either anſwer or deny any one of the Particulars, otherwiſe, than *that he is ſure no wiſe Man can juſtify their Remonſtrance*? But tells no Reaſon for this, nor from whom he had this Aſſurance.

Was ever any King, or Man, ſo great, as to be above his Intereſt? or leſs, for being well adviſed in all his Actions? Nay, ought not, not only every King, but other Men, be ſo much more careful and adviſed in all their Actions, by how much greater they are?

The King goes on, and ſays, *Now ſince I am truly informed, that a ſecond* Remonſtrance *is preparing for me, to take away the Profit of* Tunnage *and* Poundage, *one of the chief Maintenances of my Crown, by alledging I have given away my Right thereto, by my Anſwer to your Petition.*

So that here the King hath true Information of that, but ſays not how he was truly informed, which was not in being; for the Remonſtrance was not paſſed the Commons when the King came into the Houſe of Lords: ſo that it may more probably be, the King is not truly informed of this Remonſtrance. I'm ſure he is miſinformed, if the Remonſtrance, as it is printed in *Ruſhworth* and *Franklin*, be true, *that the Commons alledged that the King had given away his Right to the Cuſtoms by his Anſwer to the Petition of Right*: For the Commons denied there, that either he, or any of his Predeceſſors before him (which was long before the *Petition of Right*) had any Right to them, before they were granted by the free Gift of the Subject; Tho' the King would take the Cuſtoms, to which he had no Right, yet would he not permit the Commons to ſit till they could perfect a Bill to give him Duties upon *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, without which no King of *England* before him claimed any other Right.

But

But ſince the King ſays, in his Declaration for the Diſſolution of the Parliament, that his Predeceſſors, time out of mind, have had theſe Cuſtoms, but ſays not who told him ſo; it's fit to ſee when and what Cuſtoms of *Tunnage* and *Poundage* were taken, and for what end, and how they were taken. Sir *Edward Coke*, in his fourth *Inſtitute* of the High Court of Parliament, *fol.* 32. out of the Records makes thirteen Obſervations upon the Subſidy of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*. *A. Reg.* 4.

1. Of *Poundage* only, at 6 *s.* in the Pound, for two Years, upon Condition, *&c.* And this was 47 *Edw.* 3.

2. 6 *d.* for *Poundage*, 2 *s.* for *Tunnage* of Wine, *hac vice*. This was 6 *Ric.* 2.

3. 6 *d.* of every Pound of Merchandize, 2 *s.* for every Tun of Wine, upon Condition, *&c.* and *hac vice*. This was 7 *Ric.* 2.

4. Sometimes to have Intermiſſion, and to vary, leſt the King ſhould claim them as Duties, as 2 *s.* 18 *d.* 3 *s.* 5 *Ric.* 2. 9 *Ric.* 2. 10 *Ric.* 2.

5. 3 *s.* for *Tunnage* of Wine, and 2 *s.* 6 *d.* for *Poundage* for one Year, 11 *Ric.* 2.

6. 3 *s.* for *Tunnage* of Wine, and 1 *s.* for *Poundage*, *hac vice*, 13 *Ric.* 2.

7. 6 *d.* for *Poundage*, and 18 *d.* for *Tunnage* of Wines, for three Years, 14 *Ric.* 2.

8. 8 *d.* for *Poundage*, and 2 *s.* for *Tunnage* of Wine, 2 *Hen.* 4.

9. 12 *d.* for *Poundage*, and 3 *s.* for *Tunnage* of Wines, for three Years, 4 *Hen.* 4.

10. 12 *d.* for *Poundage*, and 3 *s.* for *Tunnage* of Wines, for ſeveral times, upon Condition, ſometimes for one Year, 6 *Hen.* 4.

11. 12 *d.* for *Poundage*, and 3 *s.* for *Tunnage* of Wines, for four Years, 1 *Hen.* 5.

12. The like Subſidy was granted to *Hen.* 5. in the third Year of his Reign, for Life, for carrying on the War againſt *France*.

13. *Tunnage* of Wine, and *Poundage*, was granted to *Edw.* 4. for Life, with no Retroſpect, but for time to come, 4 *Edw.* 4.

Theſe

A.D. 1628 Theſe were continued to all the Kings and Queens of *England*, after *Edw.* 4. to King *Charles* 1. but theſe were of Wines only: but theſe were always granted for the guarding the Seas, and of the free good Will of the Subject.

So that the firſt Grant of theſe Duties of *Tunnage* and *Poundage* for Life, began at *Hen.* 5. but that was but for that part of his Life for time to come, being granted in the third Year of his Reign; and ſo were thoſe in the Reign of *Edw.* 4. which were granted in the fourth Year of his Reign: and *Hen.* 7. would not take them till they were granted by Parliament: and Sir *Robert Phillips*, who was a Member of Parliament (*primo Jac.*) ſays, in his Speech in Parliament, (Mr. *Ruſhworth* mentions it, *fol.* 644.) that by reaſon of the Sickneſs *primo Jac.* the Parliament was prorogued, and then ſome were ſo bold, as to demand the Duties of Tunnage and Poundage, for which they were queſtioned in Parliament.

After the Duties of Tunnage and Poundage were given to King *James*, and ſettled by a Book of Rates, King *James* (which none of his Predeceſſors ever did before) impoſed higher Duties upon ſeveral ſorts of Merchandize than were granted in Parliament, by his own Will, and ſo continued them to his Death; and after his Death, his Son, by his own Will, took not only thoſe Duties granted by Parliament, but thoſe impoſed by his Father, neither would he permit the Parliament to ſit to eſtabliſh a Book of Rates, but prorogu'd or diſſolved them before they could accompliſh it. And this was the *Right* he charges the Commons to endeavour to take away, by his granting the *Petition of Right*.

The King goes on, and ſays, *This* (the Right to Tunnage and Poundage, alledg'd to be given away by the Commons) *is ſo prejudicial to me, that I am forced to end this Seſſion ſome few hours before I meant, being unwilling to receive any more* Remonſtrances, *to which I muſt give a harſh Anſwer. And ſince I ſee that the Houſe of Commons begins already to make falſe Conſtructions of what I granted in your Petition, leſt it be worſe interpreted in the Country, I will now make a Declaration concerning the true Intent thereof.*

The

The King ſhould have declared whether he ſaw this falſe Conſtruction of the Commons with his own Eyes, or the Eyes of another; if with his own Eyes, Why does he not declare wherein the Commons made this falſe Conſtruction of his Grant? Or if he ſaw or heard of this falſe Conſtruction of the Commons from another, the King ſhould have ſaid who told him ſo. Now let us ſee if the contrary of what the King ſo injuriouſly charges the Commons with, be not true. *A. Rex.* 4.

The Commons ſay, No King of *England* ever claimed theſe Cuſtoms but by the free Gift of his Subjects; Does the King deny this, or ſhew that ever any King of *England* claimed them otherways, or by any other Right? The Commons ſay, His Father raiſed them to the height they then were, without Act of Parliament, or free Gift of the People; Does the King deny this to be true? And that the King continues to take theſe Cuſtoms, without any Act of Parliament or Gift of the People; Does the King deny this? Do not the Commons tell the King, That out of their Zeal to his Service, and eſpecial Regard to his preſſing Occaſions, they had under Conſideration ſo to frame a Grant of a Subſidy of Tunnage and Poundage to his Majeſty, that he might have been the better enabled for the Defence of his Realm and Subjects, by being ſecure from all undue Charges, for the Security of Trade, the Profit of the King, and Strength of the Kingdom? Does the King deny this? With what Conſcience and Juſtice then does the King ſay, the Commons made falſe Conſtructions of his Anſwer, alledging he had given away his Right to the Cuſtoms, by his Anſwer to the *Petition of Right*? When or where is any ſuch Allegation in any part of the *Remonſtrance*.

The Commons ſay, that ſince the King will not permit them to finiſh their intended Subſidy, they have no Courſe left, without manifold Breach of their Duty to his Majeſty and their Country, ſave only to make this humble Declaration, *That the receiving Tunnage and Poundage, and other Impoſitions, not granted by Parliament, is a Breach of the Fundamental Liberties of this Kingdom, and contrary to your Majeſty's Anſwer to the Petition*

of

A.D.1628 *of Right.* Does the King ſhew that it was not the Commons Duty to repreſent this to him? or that the Commons alledged he had any Right to the Duties which he had given away by his Anſwer to the *Petition of Right*? Now let's ſee the King's Declaration of the true Intent of his Anſwer to the *Petition of Right.*

The Profeſſion of both Houſes in the time of the Hammering (ſpoke like a King) *this Petition, was no ways to trench upon my* Prerogative, (no more it did) *ſaying, They had neither Intention or Power to hurt it; therefore it muſt needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but only to confirm the ancient Liberties of my Subjects: Yet to ſhew the Clearneſs of my Intentions, that I neither repent, nor mean to recede from any thing I have promiſed you, I do here declare my ſelf, That thoſe things which have been done, whereby many have had ſome Cauſe to expect the Liberties of the Subject to be trenched upon, and indeed was the firſt and true ground of the Petition, ſhall not hereafter be drawn into Example for your Prejudice; and from time to time, on the Word of a King, ye ſhall not have the like Cauſe to complain. But as for* Tunnage *and* Poundage, *it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am ſure, to grant:* Nor did the Commons ask any Grant of it, to them, or any other.

To conclude, I command you all that are here, to take notice of what I have ſpoken at this time, to be the true Intent and Meaning of what I have granted you in your Petition, eſpecially you my Lords the Judges, for to you only, under me, belongs the Interpretation of the Laws; for none of the Houſes of Parliament, either joint or ſeparate (what new Doctrines ſoever may be raiſed) have any Power either to make or declare a Law without my Conſent: And you need not doubt, but theſe ſhall be *durante bene placito* Men all, who ſhall not ſcruple to make the King's Will to be the Subjects Law; and thoſe that will not, ſhall be none of this King's Judges.

I do not find that the King, before he prorogued them, gave the Parliament any Thanks for the Bill of Subſidies, tho' greater than ever was given to any King, as his Predeceſſors ever did; or if he did, it ill ſorted with the Speech he made before. But before we take a View of this King's Actions in the Interval of this Receſs of Parliament, let's a little conſider

conſider the preſent State of the King and Kingdom; and herein, who it was the King quarrell'd with, and upon what Account, and for whoſe Sake: It was with the Repreſentatives of the Kingdom, who had ſo obſequiouſly and unanimouſly gratified him above what any other Houſe of Commons ever did to any King of *England* before. The Crimes for which the King inveighed ſo againſt them were, for repreſenting their Grievances, and the dangerous and feeble State of himſelf and the Kingdom; and to repreſent to him the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by taking the Cuſtoms, as he did; yet declaring their Readineſs to relieve him therein, and to reconcile him to his Subjects. And for whom was it the King thus contended, but for a Favourite, who againſt the King's Father's Will, and Advice of his Council, without a Declaration or Reaſon ſhewed, the next Day after the King's Father's Death (as the Biſhop of *Litchfield* obſerves) excited him to make War againſt the King of *Spain*, and after made the King to diſſolve the Parliament, to ſave himſelf from being impeached in it? And ſo he did the ſecond Parliament, and then engaged the King in a War againſt *France*, wherein he himſelf was the Aggreſſor; and put the King upon thoſe unheard of ways to ſupport theſe Wars, that never were practiſed by any King of *England* before; and in the ill Management of them, brought greater Loſs and Diſhonour to the Nation than ever was before: A Favourite, who beſides theſe, brought the Crown to extream Poverty, to ſupport his intolerable Ambition and Avarice. *A. Reg.* 4.

The Duke of *Buckingham* upon his Retreat from the Iſle of *Rhee*, promiſed the *Rochellers* to ſend them ſpeedy Relief; and to make good his Word, ſent the Earl of *Denbigh* (his Brother-in-law) with a Fleet to relieve it, now cloſe beſieged by the *French* King; the Earl came before *Rochel* the firſt of *May*, 1628, where he found the *French* Fleet of 20 Sail had blockt up *Rochel* by Sea; upon the Approach of the Earl, the *French* retired towards their Fortifications, and anchored within two Cannon-ſhot of the Fleet, and ſo continued till the 8th of *May*: the Earl promiſed *Engliſh fail to relieve Rochel.*

A.D.1628 the *Rochellers* to ſink the *French* Fleet, when the Waters encreaſed, and the Wind came *Weſterly*, it being then neap Tides; but two Days after the Waters did encreaſe, and the Wind became *Weſterly*, then the Earl being entreated to fight the *French* Fleet, did not, but weighed Anchor, and came away, only four of the *French* Fleet at a diſtance purſuing the *Engliſh* Fleet. Thus was the Duke's Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee* ſeconded by this of his Brother-in-Law for the Relief of *Rochel*. I do not find the Parliament took notice of this, but if they had it had been to no purpoſe; for ſoon after the Earl's Return, the King reſolving not to hear of the Commons Remonſtrance againſt his taking the Cuſtoms not granted by Parliament, to which he ſaid, he muſt have given a harſh Anſwer, upon the 26th of *June*, prorogues the Parliament to the 20th of *October* following, and after by Proclamation to the 20th of *January*.

To redeem his Brother-in-Law's Miſcarriage, the Duke in this Receſs goes to *Portſmouth* to command the Fleet there to relieve *Rochel*, but at *Portſmouth* he is ſtabb'd by *Felton* the 23d of *Auguſt*; yet was the Deſign purſued under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, who ſeveral Times attempted to force the Barricadoes of the River before *Rochel*, but all in vain; or if he had, it had been to no purpoſe; for the Victuals wherewith the *Rochellers* ſhould have been relieved, were all tainted; and 'twas well the *French* had no Fleet there, for the *Engliſh* Tackle and other Materials were all defective. This was the laſt Attempt this unhappy King made, either for the Relief of the poor Proteſtants in *France*, or for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; for now *Buckingham* was dead, who put him upon making War with *Spain* and *France*, the King as ſecretly, as before he had done ſuddenly, made Peace with both *Spain* and *France*.

Buckingham *ſlain*.

What's now become of the twelve Subſidies, and three Fifteenths granted to this King's Father, and himſelf in leſs than eight Years Time by Parliament, for Recovery of the *Palatinate*, beſides Loans, Benevolences, Coat and Conduct Money, raiſed by his Father and himſelf, without Conſent of Parliament? Let any Man ſhew in any Records of Time, that half

ſo

ſo much in like Time was raiſed by any of our Kings upon any Occaſions, except the Diſſolution of *Abbeys* in *Henry* VIII's Time: Search all Hiſtories, and find any one Prince ſo wilfully ſet to be govern'd by ſuch looſe, vain, wild and negligent Councils, as either of theſe Princes, Father or Son. *A. Reg.* 4.

Now let's ſee the Condition of theſe poor *Rochellers*, truſting to this Prince and his Favourite; they lived long upon Horſe-fleſh, Hides, Leather, Dogs and Cats, hardly leaving a Horſe alive, ſtill in hopes of the Relief promiſed from *England*: they held out ſo long, till but 4000 of 15000 were left alive; moſt of them died of Famine, and when they began to be pinch'd with Extremity of Hunger, they died ſo faſt, that they uſually carried their Coffins into the Church-yard, and other Places, and therein laid themſelves, and died; great Numbers of them being unburied, and many Corps eaten with Vermin, Ravens, and other Birds, when the *French* Army entred the Town. The Outrages committed againſt the Reformed Churches in *France* were ſo high, as conſtrained them to implore King *Charles*'s Aid, in theſe Expreſſions, *That what they wrote was with their Tears and Blood.* But how unhappy ſoever this Prince's Fate was in War abroad, yet it had been happy for him, if he had not made his Fate worſe at Home; and now let us ſee what Steps he made towards it, even in this ſhort Receſs of the Parliament's Meeting. *Ill State of the* Rochellers.

Upon the 15th of *July*, the King made Sir *Richard Weſton*, (who died a declared Papiſt) Lord Treaſurer of *England*; and the ſame Day tranſlated *Laud* (the Firebrand of the *Arminian* Faction) to the Biſhoprick of *London*, whoſe next Step was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who that he might teſtify his Zeal to this Cauſe, which after ſet all theſe Nations on Fire, got *Richard Montague* to be conſecrated Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the 24th of *Auguſt* following.

This *Montague* was fierce for *Arminianiſm*, and wrote a Book, call'd *A new Gag for an old Gooſe*; for which he was queſtioned in the Parliament of 23 *Jac.* and the Cauſe was committed to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, which then ended in an Admonition; and though the

A.D.1628 Archbiſhop diſallowed the Book, and ſought to ſuppreſs it, yet it was reprinted and dedicated to King *Charles*, under the Title of *Appello Cæſarem*: Hereupon the Commons, 1 *Car.* queſtioned *Montague* for this, and gave Thanks to the Archbiſhop for what he had done; but this diſpleaſed the King, who took the Buſineſs out of the Commons Hands; but they had taken Bond of *Montague* to appear.

I deſire to be more particular herein, becauſe *Arminianiſm* was not only turn'd up Trump for the flattering Clergy to play their Game, but for the Popiſh Party to undermine the Church of *England*, as it was eſtabliſhed by Law, and the Canons, Doctrine and Homilies of it; and now *Montague*'s Cauſe was recommended to the Duke of *Buckingham*, by the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, and *Laud* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, as the Cauſe of the Church of *England*. Thus this Cauſe ſtood, when the King diſſolved the firſt Parliament the 12th of *Auguſt*, 1625.

But the King's Neceſſities, as he managed Buſineſs, forcing him to call another; before aſſembled, *Laud* procured the Duke to ſound the King, whether he would leave *Montague* to a Trial in Parliament, which the King intended to do; whereupon this pious Man *Laud* ſaid, *I ſeem to ſee a Cloud ariſing and threatning the Church of* England; *God of his Mercy diſſipate it.*

Note, That all thoſe who were not of this Faction of *Arminianiſm*, were ſtiled by them *Puritans*: Theſe *Montague* treats with bitter Railing, and injurious Speeches; and inſerts divers Paſſages in his Appeal, diſhonourable to King *James*; the Commons therefore prayed that the ſaid *Montague* might be exemplarily puniſhed, and his Books ſuppreſt and burnt. Yet this is the Saint that *Laud* in the firſt Act of his Regency, as it may be call'd, after he became Biſhop of *London*, muſt have made Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and after Biſhop of *Norwich*. But this is obſervable, that while *Neal* and *Laud* were conſecrating *Montague*, News came of the Duke's being ſtabb'd.

This was the firſt Step after *Laud's* Preferment; the next was a Pardon for *Montague* and *Manwaring*,

of

of all Errors by ſpeaking, writing and printing: And you cannot believe that *Laud* would be leſs kind to *Manwaring* than to *Montague*; and therefore notwithſtanding *Manwaring*'s Cenſure, he procured *Manwaring* the fat Rectory of *Stamford Rivers* in *Eſſex*, and a Diſpenſation to hold it with the Rectory of St. *Giles in the Fields*. *A. Reg.* 4.

That you may ſee the Kindneſs of this Biſhop of *London* to our Laws in the very Infancy of his Power: When *Felton* was brought before the Lords of the Council for murdering the Duke; *Laud* threatned *Felton* with the Rack, unleſs he would confeſs his Inducement for murdering the Duke; but the King then in Council refuſed till the Judges were conſulted, and ſaid, If it could be done by Law, he would not uſe his Prerogative; but though the Judges determined he could not be put to the Rack by Law, the King was graciouſly pleaſed not to uſe his Prerogative, yet this was no Thanks to the Biſhop of *London*.

Now let's ſee the Fruits of the Petition of Right, and the manifold Declarations of the King for maintaining the Laws of the Land, and the juſt Rights and Liberties of the Subject; but here you may underſtand, that though he had taken the Cuſtoms not granted by Parliament, yet by virtue of his Prerogative Royal, he had enhanced the Rates, ſuch as were never granted by any Parliament, and declared it his abſolute Will and Pleaſure (beſides that of Wines) that the 2 *s.* and 2 *d.* Duties upon every Hundred of Currants by the Book of Rates, ſhould be advanced to 5 *s.* and 6 *d.* in the Hundred. *The ill Fruits of the Petition of Right.*

The firſt that ſuffer'd under the King's abſolute Will and Pleaſure, was Mr. *Chambers*, who was committed by the Lords of the Council this *Michaelmas*-Term, and was bailed by the Court of *King's-Bench*; for which the Judges were check'd, having done it without due Reſpect to the Privy-Council.

Next, Mr. *Vaſſal*'s Goods were ſeized, for not paying the 5 *s.* 6 *d.* upon every Hundred Pound Weight of Currants; upon which the Attorney General, Sir *Robert Heath*, exhibited an Information againſt him in the *Exchequer*; to which Mr. *Vaſſal* pleaded the Sta-

A.D.1628 tute, *De Tallagio non concedendo*, and that this was neither *Antiqua ſeu Recta Conſuetudo*: To which the Attorney demurred, and Mr. *Vaſſal* joined in the Demurrer; but the Court would not hear Mr. *Vaſſal*'s Council, and ſaid the King was in Poſſeſſion, and they would keep him ſo, and impriſoned Mr. *Vaſſal* for not paying the Duty thus impoſed.

About the ſame time, the ſaid Mr. *Chambers*'s Goods were ſeized by the Cuſtomers, for not paying ſuch Cuſtoms as were demanded by the Farmers: Mr. *Chambers* ſues a Writ of *Replevin*, the Barons grant an Injunction againſt it; Mr. *Chambers* offers to give Security for Payment of ſuch Duties as the Court ſhould direct; which the Court refuſed, unleſs he ſhould pay ſuch Cuſtoms as demanded by the Farmers; which *Chambers* refuſing, the Court ordered the Officers to detain double the Value of *Chambers*'s Goods demanded by them. The ſame Courſe was taken with Mr. *Rolls*'s Goods, though a Parliament-Man; one of the Commiſſioners ſaying, *Privilege of Parliament extended only to Perſons, not Goods*: Another more boldly told Mr. *Rolls*, *If all the Parliament were in you, we would take your Goods.*

Theſe Proceedings ſo ill ſorting with the *Petition of Right*, the King (as *Norton* the Printer ſaid) commanded the printing of the Petition, with other Additions, beſides the King's Anſwer; and that he had printed 1500 Copies with the King's Anſwer, without the other Additions; but theſe were ſuppreſſed by Warrant, and the Attorney General commanded no more ſhould be printed, and thoſe which were ſhould not be divulged. Theſe were the Juſt and Religious Acts of this pious King; and can any Man believe the Parliament at their Meeting, ſhould without Breach of a publick Truſt, ſit ſtill, and not repreſent theſe Things to the King?

The Parliament did meet according to their Prorogation the 23d of *January*, 1628. and debated theſe Practices againſt Church and State; but now ſee the Artifice of this little Prince, rather than hear of any thing in this kind, he commands the Speaker, Sir *John Finch*, to put no Queſtion upon Debates of Grievances. So that the Houſe could do nothing but

but ſit ſtill or adjourn, and this continued till the 2d of *March*, when the Commons met and urged the Speaker to put the Queſtion concerning Grievances; who anſwered, I have a Command from the King to adjourn the Houſe till the 10th of *March*, and put no Queſtion; and endeavouring to go out of the Houſe, he was held by ſome Members, till the Houſe had made theſe Proteſtations. *A. Reg.* 4.

1. Whoſoever ſhall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by Favour or Countenance, ſeem to extend or introduce Popery or *Arminianiſm*, or other Opinions, diſagreeing from the *Truth* and *Orthodox* Church, ſhall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom, or Commonwealth. *Proteſtations of the Commons about Grievances.*

2. Whoſoever ſhall counſel or adviſe the taking or levying the Subſidies of Tunnage and Poundage, not granted by Parliament, or ſhall be an Actor or Inſtrument therein, be likewiſe reputed an Innovator in the Government, and a Capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Commonwealth.

3. If any Merchant or Perſon whatſoever, ſhall voluntarily yield, or pay the Subſidies of Tunnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he ſhall likewiſe be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of *England*, and an Enemy to the ſame.

This Act conſiſted in two Parts, the Speaker and the Houſe; the Speaker's of three Parts, a Command by the King to put no Queſtion, to adjourn till the 10th of *March*, and an endeavour to go out of the Houſe. In the former Seſſion of this Parliament, Secretary *Cook*, the 10th of *April*, from the King deſired the Houſe not to make any Receſs theſe *Eaſter* Holy-days, that the World may now take notice how earneſt his Majeſty and We were for the publick Affairs in *Chriſtendom*, which would receive Interruption by this Receſs. *Reflections on the Speaker's Conduct.*

To which Sir *Robert Phillips* anſwered, that the 12th and 18th *Jac.* the Houſe reſolved it was in their Power to adjourn, or ſit; and that this may be put upon them by Princes of leſs Piety; and that a Committee conſider of the Houſe's Right.

A.D. 1628 Sir *Edward Coke* ſaid, The King makes a Prorogation; the Houſe adjourns it ſelf: That a Commiſſion of Adjournment the Houſe never read, but ſay, the Houſe adjourns it ſelf; yet here the Speaker verbally ſays, I am commanded by the King to adjourn till the 10th of *March*.

His ſecond Command was to put no Queſtion. So here was a Speaker which might not ſpeak; what did he there then? He ſits there by the King in his Higheſt and Regal Capacity, under the broad Seal, to put the Queſtion; and now if you'll take his Word, he ſays, he has a Command from the King to put no Queſtion.

The third Act was his Endeavour to go out of the Houſe, which the Houſe, conceiving him to be their Servant, would not ſuffer.

Here you may underſtand that the King had privately made Peace with *France*, though not proclaimed at *Paris* till *June* following, and ſoon after with *Spain*; ſo that in his Speech, this Meeting, he did not begin with, *The Times are for Action, and the Eyes of all the World are upon us*; and therefore demands Supplies in the firſt Place, but that without loſs of Time they would paſs the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage; but the Houſe ſeeing the Dangers of the Church and State, in not only pardoning, but preferring *Montague* and *Manwaring*, and ſeizing Merchants Goods, and impriſoning their Perſons, even in this Receſs; they reſolve to ſecure their Religion, and redreſs Grievances, before they grant the Cuſtoms of Tunnage and Poundage: In both they could not but take notice of the Orders of the *Star-Chamber*, Privy-Council, Judges and Cuſtomers. And theſe were the Invaſions upon the *King's* Prerogative Royal, which for the future he reſolved never to ſuffer; yet he ſhall live to hear more of them.

But in regard it may ſeem ſtrange, that Cuſtoms of Tunnage and Poundage, ever ſince the Reign of *Richard* the 3d, had been granted to the Kings and Queens of this Realm, for ſecuring the Sovereignty of the narrow Seas, and of the *Engliſh* Merchants, yet was not granted to this King: The Reaſon was this, the Houſe of Commons in their Grievances in

the

the two firſt Parliaments of this King, and the former Seſſions of this, complained, that the Duke of *Buckingham* being Lord High Admiral of *England*, neglected to guard the Seas, to the Diſhonour of the King, and endangering the Trade of *England*; and feared, if the Duke were not removed, the End deſigned by the Parliament would be diverted, to ſupply the intolerable Pride and Luxury of the Duke; but the King rather than endure this, diſſolved the two former Parliaments, and prorogued this when they were upon ſettling the Duties of Tunnage and Poundage. *A. Reg.* 4.

That the Parliament had Reaſon for this, it appears in their Charge againſt the Duke, in the 2d Year of this King, and that in ten Years Time he had received of King *James* and this King 284395 *l.* beſides the Foreſt of *Leyfield*, the Profits of the third of Strangers Goods, and the Profits of the Moiety of the Cuſtoms of *Ireland*, beſides the Tricks he uſed to get Money, as he was Lord High Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, Maſter of the Horſe, Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque Ports and the Members thereof, Conſtable of *Dover*-Caſtle, Juſtice in Eyre of all his Majeſty's Foreſts and Chaſes on this Side of *Trent*, Conſtable of *Windſor-Caſtle*, and Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber.

To theſe might have been added the Duke's Venality, in ſelling all Places in Church and State, at leaſt preferring ſuch Men in Church, as ſhould propagate *Arminianiſm*, and ſuch Judges as ſhall do what the King and he bid them.

Objection. But the Duke was now dead in this Seſſion of Parliament, and ſo the Reaſon ceaſing, the Duties of Tunnage and Poundage ought to have been granted.

Anſwer. The King would not ſuffer the Commons to come at it, neither in the laſt Seſſions nor this; for the Religion of the Church of *England*, and the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, being ſo ſhaken in this Receſs, the Commons reſolve that Religion ſhall have the Precedency in their Debates, and make this Vow:

We

A.D.1628 *WE the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do claim, proteſt, and avow for Truth, the Senſe of the Articles of Religion, which were eſtabliſhed by Parliament, in the 13th Year of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *which by the Publick Acts of the Church of* England, *and by the general and currant Expoſition of the Writers of our Church, have been delivered unto Us. And we Reject the Senſe of the* Jeſuits *and* Arminians, *and all others wherein they differ from us.*

But the true Reaſon why the King would not take the Duties of Tunnage and Poundage from the Commons, was, for fear the Commons ſhould not grant the Duties impoſed by his Father, and taken by him; which he was reſolved to continue, whether the Parliament would or not.

The Houſe had a Petition from the *Printers* and *Bookſellers* in *London*, complaining, That *Laud*, Biſhop of *London* (who had been ſo but from the 15th of *July* laſt) had reſtrained Books written againſt *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*, and the contrary allowed of only by him, and had ſent Purſevants for many *Printers* and *Bookſellers*, who had printed Books againſt *Popery*; and that Licenſing Books, was only reſtrained to the Biſhop of *London* and his Chaplains, [*This is the Patron and Saint-like Martyr of the Church of* England] And all this ado in the Houſe of Commons, was upon Sir *John Elliot's* Speech againſt *Neal* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (a zealous Promoter of *Arminianiſm*) and *Weſton* Lord Treaſurer (a *Papiſt*) in whoſe Perſon he ſaid, *All Evil is contracted*, acting and building upon thoſe Grounds, laid by his great Maſter the Duke, and that his Spirit is moving to theſe Interruptions, and they for fear break Parliaments, leſt the Parliament ſhould break them: That he finds him the Head of all the great Party; That *Papiſts*, *Jeſuits* and *Prieſts*, derive from him their Shelter and Protection, *&c.* But the Speaker, upon Motion of the Houſe, refuſed to put the Queſtion, being, he ſaid, otherwiſe commanded by the King: Whereupon the Houſe adjourned till *Wedneſday* the 25th, and from thence to the 2d of *March*; when the Speaker again refuſed

refuſed to put the Queſtion, the Succeſs whereof was ſaid before. What now was the Crime of the Houſe? It was their Endeavour to preſerve the Religion of the Church of *England*; and the Laws and Liberties of the Subjects of *England*; and ſince the Speaker refuſing to do his Office, they could not repreſent their Duty to the King, they made their Proteſtation in the Defence of the Church and State: And Maſters oft-times upon Diſobedience of their Servants, do that which at other times they would not have done. *A. Reg. 4.*

The King having made Peace abroad, was reſolved now to proſecute a vigorous War at home againſt thoſe Noble Gentlemen, who in a Parliamentary Way had aſſerted the eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws of *England*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who was ſtabb'd the 23d of *Auguſt* before, you need not fear, had furniſhed the King with Judges, Privy-Counſellors, and *Star-Chamber-Men*, who ſhould do the King's Work; and now let's ſee the Order and Method by which it was carried on.

Upon this very Day, *viz.* the 2d of *March*, a Proclamation was drawn for the Diſſolution of the Parliament, but not proclaimed; the King afterwards doing it himſelf in Perſon upon the 10th. But next Day Warrants were directed from the Privy-Council for *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Miles Hobert*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, *John Selden*, *William Coriton*, *Walter Long*, *William Stroud*, and *Benjamin Valentine*, Eſquires, to appear before the Council: Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Valentine* and Mr. *Coriton* appeared; and for refuſing to anſwer out of Parliament, for what was ſaid or done in Parliament, were committed cloſe Priſoners to the *Tower*; and Warrants were given for ſealing up the Studies of Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Selden*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Long*, and Mr. *Stroud*, who not then appearing, a Proclamation was iſſued out for apprehending of them. *Divers Members impriſon'd.*

The 10th of *March* the King comes into the Houſe of Lords, and tells the Reaſons of his Diſſolution of the Parliament, that it was the *undutiful and ſeditious Carriage in the Lower Houſe*, but ſays not wherein; calls them *Vipers*, who muſt look for their Reward and Puniſhment, but promiſes the Lords the Favour *Parliament diſſolved.*

A.D. 1629 vour and Protection that a good King oweth to his loving and faithful Nobility: and then the Lord Keeper diſſolved them.

CHAP. II.

This Reign detected to the Second Parliament, in 1640.

JUſtice like Truth is one, and conſiſts in entire Parts, and will not admit of more or leſs; but Injuſtice, like Falſhood and Error, is diſtracted into infinite Diſcord and Confuſion. King *James* upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament of the 12th and 18th Years of his Reign, without any Trial, but only by the Prerogative of his own Will, commits ſeveral Members of Parliament to Priſon, for preſuming to repreſent the Grievances of the Nation to him for Redreſs, without Bail or Main-prize: But this King puts a face of Juſtice upon his fining and impriſoning the Members of Parliament for their Debates and Tranſactions in it; which was ſo much worſe than his Father's Actions, by how much the affixing a ſacred Character to a bad Act (and Juſtice is ſacred) renders the Act ſo much worſe, as Perjury is a greater Crime than ſimple Falſhood; and to murder a Man under pretence of Juſtice, a greater Crime than ſimple Murder.

The Member proſecuted. The Members thus cloſe impriſoned, after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, *viz.* in Trinity-Term following, Mr. *Selden* was brought by *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's-Bench*, with the Cauſe of his Detainer; and alſo the ſame Day Sir *Miles Hobert*, Mr. *Benjamin Valentine*, and Mr. *Hollis* appeared by *Habeas Corpus*, directed to their ſeveral Priſons, with their Council to argue their ſeveral Caſes. But when the Court were prepared to give their Opinions, the Priſoners were not brought according to the Rule of Court. Then Proclamation was made to the Keepers of the ſeveral

ral Priſons to bring their Priſoners, but none appear- *A. Reg.* 5.
ed: But the Marſhal of the *King's Bench* ſaid, that Mr. *Stroud* was removed out of his Cuſtody the Day before to the *Tower*, by the King's own Warrant, and ſo it was done by the other Priſoners. But in the Evening the Judges received a Letter from the King, containing Reaſons why he would not ſuffer the Priſoners to appear, yet that *Selden* and *Valentine* ſhould appear the next day; and about three Hours after the Judges received other Letters, that upon mature Deliberation, neither *Selden* nor *Valentine* ſhould appear. And the ſame Term, four Conſtables of *Hertfordſhire* pray'd *Habeas Corpus*'s to ſeveral Purſevants, to whom they were committed by the Lords of the Privy-Council, which were granted, but then they are committed to other Purſevants, and ſo they were upon every other *Habeas Corpus*, ſo that the Conſtables could have no benefit of them.

The Members as well as the Conſtables being thus ſhifted from one Priſon to others, to prevent the Returns of their *Habeas Corpus*'s, by ſpecial Order from the King, the Attorney-General Sir *Robert Heath* preferred an Information in the Star-Chamber againſt Sir *John Elliot*, and others of the Members therein named, ſetting forth their Miſdemeanors in the late Parliament, and all thoſe Proceedings.

But Mr. *Long*'s Charge was different from thoſe of the other Members, *viz. Not for Miſdemeanors in Parliament, but that contrary to his Oath, being when he was made Sheriff, and was by his Oath to keep within his County, yet he did come to Parliament and ſerve as a Member there, and in the time of Parliament reſided out of his County.*

To this Mr. *Long* pleaded, that the Oath of a Sheriff to reſide in his County, does not exempt him from obeying the King's Commands out of the County when the King requires it, and that by the King's Command in his higheſt Capacity, he being choſen a Member of Parliament, was obliged as well by the King's Command, as by a Truſt repoſed in him by his County, to ſerve as a Member of Parliament; *Yet by a Sentence in the Star-Chamber he was fined* 2000 *Marks to the King, to be impriſoned in the* Tower, *and to make a Submiſſion.*

But

*A.D.*1629 But the Attorney-General putting the Queſtion to the Judges upon the Proceedings *Ore tenus* in the Star-Chamber againſt the Parliament Men, the Judges held it the juſter way not to proceed *Ore tenus*. And Juſtice *Whitlock* did often and highly complain againſt this way of ſending to the Judges for their Opinions beforehand; and ſaid, *That if Biſhop* Laud *went on this way, he would kindle a Flame in the Kingdom.*

Mr. *Hollis*, *Selden*, *Stroud* and *Valentine*, having been brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar by ſeveral *Habeas Corpus's*, and Cauſe of their Commitment returned, one on a Warrant from the Council, another on a Warrant from the King for *Sedition and Contempts*; and whether this was a good Return or not was argued.

The Judges were perplexed about the *Habeas Corpus*, and wrote a humble and ſtout Letter to the King, *That by their Oaths they were to bail the Priſoners*; but thought fit before they did it, or publiſh their Opinions therein, to inform his Majeſty thereof, and humbly to adviſe him (as had been done by his noble Progenitors in like caſe) to ſend a Direction to his Juſtices of his Bench to bail the Priſoners.

But the Lord Keeper (*Coventry*) would not acknowledge to Juſtice *Whitlock*, who was ſent to him from the reſt of his Brethren about this Buſineſs, that he ſhewed the Judges Letter to the King, but diſſembled the Matter, and told him, that he and his Brethren muſt attend the King at *Greenwich* at a Day appointed.

Accordingly the Judges attended the King, who was not pleaſed with their Determination, but commanded them not to deliver any Opinion in this Caſe without conſulting the reſt of the Judges, who delayed the Buſineſs, and would hear Arguments in the Caſe, as well as the Judges of the *King's-Bench* had done, and ſo the Buſineſs was put off to the end of the Term: Then the Court of *King's-Bench* being ready to deliver their Opinions, the Priſoners were removed to other Priſons; and a Letter came from the King to the Judges, *That this was done becauſe of their inſolent Carriage at the Bar*, and ſo they did not appear.

The

The Judges of the *King's-Bench* were ſent to by the Lord-Keeper to be in *London* on *Michaelmas-day*, and the Chief Juſtice and Juſtice *Whitlock* were ſent for to the King at *Hampton-Court*, who adviſed with them about the impriſoned Members; and upon the firſt Day of the Term Mr. *Maſon* moved for the Members to have the Reſolution of the Court: All the Judges declared, that they were contented the Priſoners ſhould be bailed, but that they muſt find Sureties for their good Behaviour; *If this Addition of finding Sureties for the Members good Behaviour were part of the good Offices which the Judges did (as Mr.* Whitlock *ſays) to bring the King to [illegible] the Breaches*, the Members had little Reaſon to thank them for their Pains. *A. Reg.* 5.

Mr. *Selden* pray'd that his Sureties for his Bailment might be taken, and the Matter of the good Behaviour omitted as a diſtinct thing: So did the reſt of the Members, whereupon the Court remanded them to the *Tower*; *which I ſuppoſe is extraordinary, the Court having them in their Power, and the Tower no Priſon of theirs in ſuch Caſes.*

In the ſame Term the King's Attorney (*Heath*) exhibited an Information againſt Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Hollis*, *Selden*, and *Valentine*, in the *King's-Bench*, ſetting forth the Matters in effect as were in the Information in the Star-Chamber: to which the Defendants pleaded to the Juriſdiction of the Court; *becauſe the Offences are ſaid to be committed in Parliament, and ought not to be puniſhed in this or any other Court, except the Parliament.*

The King's Attorney moved the Court to over-rule the Plea, tho' he did not demur to it; but the Court would not, and gave a Day to join in Demurrer, and to have the Point argued; and in *Hillary*-Term the Judges over-rul'd their Plea, and the Defendants were ruled to plead further, but they would not; whereupon Judgment was given againſt them upon a *Nihil dicit*, *That they ſhould be impriſoned, and not delivered till they had given Sureties for their good Behaviour, and made a Submiſſion and Acknowledgment of their Offences*, and they were alſo fined; and what their Fines were you may read in the Appendix of the firſt Part of *Ruſhworth*'s Collections.

But

A.D.1629 But herein the Judges were not all of one piece, for that venerable and honourable Gentleman Sir *John Walter*, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and who was no *Durante bene placito* Man, diſſented from the reſt of the Judges, whereupon the King diſcharged him from his Place. I have heard my Father ſay, that when Sir *John* received the King's Meſſage, he returned Anſwer, that he was intruſted by the King in that Office, *quam diu bene ſe geſſerit*, and that the Law was free for any Man to proſecute him if he had ill demeaned himſelf in it; but to forſake his Station any other way, implied Guilt, which he was not conſcious to himſelf of: and therefore tho' the King ſent him his *Quietus*, yet he retained the Perquiſites of his Place to his Death.

A little before the Members Sentence in the King's Bench, the King's Attorney exhibited an Information againſt one *Chambers* a Merchant, for ſaying, *Merchants have more Incouragement, and are leſs ſcrewed up in* Turkey *than in* England. *Chambers* confeſt the Words, but he ſpake them of the under Officers of the Cuſtoms, who had much wronged him, without reflecting upon the Government; yet the Court fined him 2000 *l.* and to make a Submiſſion, which he refuſed as *unjuſt and falſe*.

The Fine was eſtreated into the Exchequer, where he pleaded *Magna Charta*, and other Statutes againſt the Fine, *it not being by legal Judgment of his Peers, nor ſaving his Merchandize:* but the Barons would not ſuffer his Plea to be filed; and afterwards he brought his *Habeas Corpus*, but the Judges remanded him. Thus you ſee what Fruits the Petition of Right (paſſed but the Year before) had, and the King's repeated Declarations to maintain the Laws of the Land, and the Liberty and Property of the Subject.

King's Declaration after the Diſſolution.

But if this Prince has not kept his Word for the time paſt, he will keep it he ſays for the time to come, in the Declaration he made for the Diſſolution of this laſt Parliament. I do not find the Date of it, yet it begins with the uſual Prologue; *However, Princes are not bound to give an account of their Actions but only to God.* In this the King ſays nothing of the Eyes

Eyes of all *Chriſtendom* being upon him, *but tells how* A. Reg. 5.
the Aids granted this laſt Parliament were for Payment of his Fleet and Army; and that with part of thoſe Monies he began to ſupply his Magazines and Stores, and to put his Navy into a conſtant Form and Order; and that notwithſtanding the Provocations of evil Men (whoſe Puniſhment he reſerves to a due time) he will maintain the Eſtabliſhed Religion and Doctrine of the Church of England, *and the ancient and juſt Rights and Liberties of the Subject: Yet as he will maintain the Subjects Rights, ſo he expects that they yield as much Submiſſion and Duty to his Royal Prerogative, and as ready Obedience to his Authority and Command, as had been performed to any of his Predeceſſors. Then wills his Miniſters not to be terrified by the harſh Proceedings ſtrained againſt them; for as he will ſupport them by his Authority and Prerogative, ſo he expects they ſhould obey him, and that he will receive the Cuſtoms, and the Duty of Five in the Hundred; and if any factious Merchants refuſe to pay, they ſhall be aſſured he will find honourable and juſt means to ſupport his Eſtate and Soveraignty, and preſerve the Authority God had put into his Hands: and for this, his Subjects ought to acknowledge their own Bleſſedneſs, and for the ſame to be thankful to God, the Author of all Goodneſs.* For this you muſt take the Prince's Word for the next twelve Years. But being thus great and happy at Home, let's ſee what is doing Abroad.

The War againſt *France* was not more inconſiderately begun about two Years before, than the Peace made with it was ſecret: The firſt time it was made known was when the *French* King beſieged *Privas*, he proclaimed the Peace with his good Brother of *England*: The *Reformed* were aſtoniſhed and confounded, that the King of *England*, who brought them into the War, ſhould leave them out of the Peace: Hereupon *Privas* ſurrenders, ſo does *Caſtres* and *Niſmes*; the great *Rohan* is forced to ſubmit and disband. The Power of the *Reformed* thus rooted up; and while the King of *England* is making War againſt the Members of Parliament, *Richlieu* marches with an Army into *Italy*, and takes *Saluſſes* and *Pignerol* from the Duke of *Savoy*.

A.D. 1628 *Richlieu* having thus ſecured the King of *England*, took no leſs Care that the Empire ſhould not put a ſtop to the ſwelling Ambition of his Maſter, and to this purpoſe, enters into a Confederacy with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, to call the King of *Sweden* into *Germany*, who next Year entred into it, where, for eighteen Years, the *French* Proteſtant Princes joining the *Swede*, a moſt dreadful War was raiſed all over *Germany*, ſo as the *French* had no cauſe to fear any Danger thence; on the contrary, they took *Briſac*, and other Places, and had opportunity to wreſt *Lorrain* from that Duke.

But King *Charles* proſpering, as he thought, in his Domeſtick War, having taken more Priſoners in it, (I mean the Members of Parliament, and Conſtables of *Hertfordſhire*) than his Father and he had done in all their Wars againſt *France*, *Spain* and the Empire, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, was very unwilling to enter into a Foreign; and therefore in a kind of petitioning way, ſends Sir *Henry Vane* his Ambaſſador to the King of *Sweden*, to take care of the Patrimony of his Brother, but with no better Succeſs, yet in a more rough, ſcornful and diſhonourable manner than his Father's Ambaſſadors had with the Emperor. But that he might ſeem to do ſomething, the King ſent Marquiſs *Hamilton* with 6000 Men to aſſiſt the *Swede*; who, tho' every where elſe victorious, yet this Army under *Hamilton* had worſe Succeſs than that under *Mansfield*, being ſtarved and mouldred away almoſt to nothing, and yet fought not at all; and being reduced to two Regiments, the King of *Sweden* would not permit King *Charles* to name the Officers.

The ill Succeſs of *Hamilton's* Army put the King out of all Conceit of proſecuting any Foreign War, and therefore wholly makes it his Buſineſs to make himſelf more abſolute at Home. There is but one Rub in the way, *viz.* the great Prop of the Church, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Abbot*, a Prelate of moſt eminent Learning, whoſe upright Integrity ſtood as an unſhaken Rock againſt the Innovations both in Church and State, which were now ſo fiercely puſh'd on by the *Arminians*.

I find but little Action in this Year 1631, Things were only preparing to what followed; yet altho' Archbiſhop *Abbot* was living, the Torrent run ſo high in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, that ſeveral of the Members were proceeded againſt and cenſured for Sermons preached againſt *Arminianiſm*, and expell'd the Univerſity, and the Book of Sports and Paſtimes upon the Lord's-Day was re-publiſhed: Judge *Richardſon* was ſo hardy as to repreſs them, but the Biſhops took this as an intruding upon the Eccleſiaſtical Power, and Biſhop *Laud* complained thereof to the King, and the Judge was check'd for it. *A. Reg.* 83

But in the Year 1632, this Reverend Prelate died, and thereby left room for *Laud*, the Fire-brand of *Arminianiſm*, to take Poſſeſſion. Before we ſee what follows, let's look back upon what went before: He being of a reſtleſs aſpiring Temper, in the beginning of King *James*'s Reign got to be Chaplain to *Montjoy*, Earl of *Devonſhire*; and to ſhew he would be great upon any account, he marries the Earl to the Lady *Rich*, tho' her Husband was then alive, and had many Children by her, *viz. Robert*, then Earl of *Warwick*, and *Henry* Earl of *Holland*; which Act ſo diſpleaſed King *James*, that the Earl fell into his Diſpleaſure; and tho' *Laud* hanker'd near twenty Years after the Court to get Preferment, principally under the Countenance of *Neal* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, yet the King would never endure to hear of it: But at laſt, by the Importunity of *Neal* and others, *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Lord-Keeper, was prevail'd upon to intercede for him without any Succeſs, till at length the Keeper told the King, *It would be hard to ſerve a King who could not forgive one Fault.* At laſt he got the King to prefer *Laud* to the Biſhoprick of St. *David's*; but he had not been ſcarce one Year in his Biſhoprick before he became *Williams*'s bitter Enemy and Proſecutor; and within leſs than three Years after he became Archbiſhop, got the Biſhop of *Lincoln* fined and impriſoned, and his Eſtate to be ſequeſtred by an Order of the *Star-Chamber*, and at laſt acknowledged he had never read the Commiſſion by which he acted. Tho' *Laud* had never read the Commiſſion by which he acted, yet ſo zealous was he for

Abbot's Death, and Laud made Archbiſhop.

A.D. 1632 the Execution of the Sequeſtration of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s Eſtate, that he ſends this Warrant to the King's Solicitor, Sir *John Banks*. " It is his Majeſty's " Pleaſure, That you prepare a Commiſſion to the " Prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of *Weſt-* " *minſter*, authorizing them to keep their Audits, " and other Capitular Meetings at their uſual Times; " and to treat and compound with the Tenants for " Leaſes, and to paſs the ſame accordingly, chuſe " Officers, and confirm and execute all other lawful " Acts, for the Good and Benefit of the College " and ſaid Prebendaries: And to take out the Com- " mon or Charter-Seal, for ſealing ſuch Leaſes and " Grants as will be agreed upon by the Sub-Dean, " and the major part of the Prebendaries; and alſo " to paſs all the Premiſſes under the Title of " the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church " of St. *Peter* at *Weſtminſter*, during the Suſpenſion " of the Biſhop of *Lincoln* from the Deanery of " *Weſtminſter*: and for doing whereof this ſhall be " your Warrant. *Lambeth*-Houſe, 22d of *November*, 1637. *W. Cant.*

Whether the King ever granted any ſuch Warrant to *W. Cant. non conſtat*; for the King never ſpeaks to his Subjects but either perſonally in Parliament, or under the Broad-Seal, which here does not appear; beſides, all Warrants of Courts are ſigned by the Seals of the Courts, and executed by their proper and ſworn Officers, neither of which were *W. Cant.* or the King's Solicitor. Yet at this rate was this Nation ridden during the Regency of *W. Cant.*

This *Phaeton* thus mounted up on high, being the firſt Peer of *England*, was yet higher in the King's Favour, than *Richlieu* was with the *French* King. But as the Temper of theſe Princes and their Favourites, were different, ſo had they different Fates: *Lewis* was ſteady and true to his Word, from whence he acquired the Title of *Juſt*; *Charles* fickle and unſtable, eaſily put upon Things by his Favourites, and as ſuddenly altering them, and doing quite contrary: From whence it was that *Lewis* ſupported the Cardinal in all his Shocks of adverſe Fortune, and to the Indignation of his Mother; whereas *Charles*, in

the

the Adverſity of their Fortunes, gave up *Laud* and all his Favourites as a Sacrifice to their Enemies. *A. Reg.* 9.

As the Fates of theſe Favourites were different, ſo were their Parts, *Richlieu*'s High, Generous, and the ableſt Stateſman of the Age; *Laud*'s Pedantick and Narrow. After the marrying the Lady *Rich* to the Earl of *Devonſhire*, he ſpent his Time in ſeeking Preferment at Court, and in fetting up Factions in the Univerſity of *Oxford* for promoting *Arminianiſm*. *Compariſon between* Laud *and* Richlieu.

Richlieu was a conſtant Aſſertor of the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church, and a hater of the *Jeſuits* who bring in Innovations, and exalt a Papal Power above them; whereas *Laud*, not only brought Innovations into the Church of *England*, but was the Head of the *Arminian* Party, under whoſe Banners the *Popiſh* Party fought to undermine and deſtroy the Church of *England*.

The Dioceſs of *London* was too contracted to reſtrain the boundleſs Ambition of this Biſhop; for the laſt Parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, but *Laud* preſented the King with *Conſiderations*, for the better ſettling *Church-Government* in both Provinces, of *York* as well as *Canterbury*.

The 4th of theſe was, That a ſpecial Charge be given againſt frequent and unworthy Ordinations; but *latet Anguis in Herba*, None ſhall be worthy but *Arminians*. Laud's *Scheme of Church Government to the King, while Biſhop of* London.

The 5th was, That ſpecial Care be had of our Lecturers in every Dioceſs, which by Reaſon of Pay, are the Peoples Creatures, and blow the Bellows of their Sedition: But if the Biſhop will not let them do this, they know no other way to live, and willingly would not ſtarve.

For abating the People's Power, the 2d Conſideration is, That every Biſhop in his Dioceſs ordain, that every Lecturer do read in his Surplice, *Divine Service*, before his Lecture; which if he does, 'tis twenty to one, thoſe that pay the Lecturer will pay no more: What then becomes of the Lecturer? for there's no other Proviſion made for him.

The 6th is, That if a Corporation maintain a Lecturer, that he be not permitted to preach, till he take care of Souls within the Corporation: *How this can be, I don't underſtand, unleſs the Lecturer have a concurring or diſtinct Power from the Incumbent.* The

A. D. 1632 The 7th is, That none but Noblemen, and Men qualified by Law, may keep Chaplains. *Yet in your Religious Care you take no Care how otherways they may ſubſiſt.*

The 8th is, That *Emanuel* and *Sydney* Colleges in *Cambridge*, which are the Nurſeries of *Puritaniſm*, may be from Time to Time furniſhed with Grave and Orthodox Men for their Governors, *viz. Such as ſhall do the* Arminian *Work, without any regard to the Statutes of the College.*

All theſe Conſiderations muſt be taken for Acts of the Church of *England*, and a Neglect, or Breach of them, ſufficient for an Information in the *High Commiſſion*, where he is aſſured he ſhall ſhortly judge; and therefore his Majeſty, in the 9th Conſideration, is to countenance the *High Commiſſion*, by the Preſence of ſome of the Privy-Council, at leaſt ſo often as any Cauſe of Moment is to be ſettled.

The 10th Conſideration is, That Courſe may be taken, that the Judges may not ſend ſo many Prohibitions; *Which if they do from any of his Cenſures in the High Commiſſion, he will proceed againſt them by Excommunication.*

Thus you ſee this Icarus *is not only content to take a Flight out of his Dioceſs, but over the whole Provinces of* York *and* Canterbury *in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and extends it as he pleaſes over the Civil.*

Theſe were the Seeds which this Biſhop planted while he was Biſhop of *London*; you may be ſure he'll reap a good Crop now he's become Metropolitan of all *England*. During the Time of his being Biſhop of *London*, he was look'd upon as the Riſing Sun, which the flattering Students in both Univerſities worſhipped; but after he became Archbiſhop, the Learning of both Univerſities were Brawls about *Arminian* Tenets in the Schools and Sermons, the *Arminians* treating their Opponents with all taunting and reproaching Terms; and if their Opponents retorted, they were had up into the High Commiſſion, where the Archbiſhop preſided, aſſiſted by his Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and Miniſters of the Prerogative Court, and ſome of his Majeſty's Privy-Council; but I do not read of one cited for maintaining

Arminian

Arminian Tenets. It's ſcarce credible how the Buſi- *A. Reg.* 9.
neſs of this Court, the *Star-Chamber*, and Council-Table ſwelled, and what cruel and unheard of Cenſures were made, eſpecially in the *Star-Chamber*, againſt all ſorts of People, who did offend either againſt the King's Prerogative Royal, or the Archbiſhop's Injunctions, which muſt be obey'd as Articles of the Church of *England*: The Thunder of them was not reſtrained within the Bounds of *England*, but terrified almoſt all *Scotland*, who were bitter Enemies to *Arminianiſm*.

At this time of Day the Court-Biſhops diſclaimed all Juriſdiction from the King in *Baſtwick*'s Cenſure, who was to pay 1000 *l.* Fine, to be excommunicated, debarr'd of his Practice of Phyſick, his Books to be burnt, and his Perſon impriſoned till he made a Reclamation, and all this for maintaining the King's Prerogative againſt the Papacy.

The Bounds of *England* were too narrow to reſtrain this Man's Ambition; and therefore before he had been two Months Archbiſhop, *viz.* the 8th of *October*, 1633. he adviſed the King to make a Reformation in the Church of *Scotland*; not by Conſent in Parliament, but by his Prerogative Royal: The beginning of this Reformation muſt begin at the King's Chapel Royal, where the *Engliſh* Service, the Surplice, and the receiving the Sacrament, is enjoined; and that the Lords of the Privy-Council, the Lords of the Seſſions, and the Advocate, Clerks, Writers to the Privy-Signet, and Members of the College of Juſtice, be commanded to receive the Sacrament once every Year in the ſaid Chapel, and the Dean to report to the King, who does, or who does not obey; and the Archbiſhop had a Warrant from the King, to hold Correſpondence with the Biſhop of *Dunblane*, and to communicate to him his Majeſty's farther Pleaſure herein. And ſo we leave the Affairs of the Church here for a while, and ſee how Affairs ſtood in the State ſince the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament.

Some Account of Wentworth and Noy.

In the laſt Parliament, among many famous Members, Sir *Thomas Wentworth* and Mr. *Noy* excelled; Sir *Thomas* for his admired Parts, and natural and eaſy

A.D. 163 eaſy Elocution; *Noy*, as a moſt profound Lawyer; both zealous Patriots for the Rights and Liberties of the Subject. And upon the 12th of *February*, 1628, when the Debates for granting Tunnage and Poundage to the King, was in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Noy* argued, *We cannot ſafely give, unleſs we be in Poſſeſſion, and the Proceedings in the* Exchequer *be nulliſied, as alſo the Information in the* Star-Chamber, *and the Annexion to the* Petition of Right; *for it will not be a Gift but a Confirmation; neither will I give without the Removal of theſe Interruptions, and a Declaration in the Bill, that the King has no Right, but by our free Gift; if it will not be accepted as it is fit for us to give, we cannot help it; if it be the King's already, we do not give it:* So that theſe two muſt be reckoned among thoſe *Vipers*, which the King declared at the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and muſt look for their Reward of Puniſhment.

The Reward of Puniſhment, which theſe two *Vipers* had, was, that Sir *Thomas Wentworth* was made Lord Preſident of the *North*, and Mr. *Noy* Attorney General; Sir *Thomas* ſtrained the Juriſdiction ſo high, that it proved the Ruin of the Court, and the Riſe of the Fame of Mr. *Edward Hide*, (after Chancellor of *England*) for the Speech he made in 1641, againſt the Abuſes committed in it, whilſt Sir *Thomas* was Preſident; and *Noy*, now he is become Attorney, is become the moſt intimate Confident of the Archbiſhop, and as forward in Informations in the *Star-Chamber*, High Commiſſion and Council-Table, as Sir *Robert Heath* was, who is made Chief Juſtice in the *Common Pleas*, to make room for *Noy* to be Attorney General.

But while the King was erecting this new Principality over his Subjects, which none of his Anceſtors or Predeceſſors before his Father and himſelf ever pretended to in *England*: The *Dutch*, the next Year after his Father had given up the *Cautionary-Towns*, which Queen *Elizabeth* kept, and deliver'd up to him by her Death, well knowing the Poverty of King *James*, and the ill Terms between the King and his Subjects, took the Boldneſs to fiſh upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, with their Buſſes and other

other Veſſels, guarded by Men of War, in Defiance of him; and now *Grotius* (no doubt ſet on work by ſome of his Country-men) perceiving how intent King *Charles* was in erecting his new Dominion over his Subjects, that he became careleſs of all his Foreign Affairs, took the Impudence to write a Mercenary Treatiſe, called *Mare Liberum*, wherein he will not allow the King to have any Title to the Soveraignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, or his Subjects any more Right to fiſh in them, than the *Dutch*, or any other Nation. But how conſiſtible this Treatiſe is to Truth, Antiquity, the ſacred Scriptures, or to *Grotius* himſelf, or to the Practice of his Country men, is now fit to be enquired into. And ſince I have, as well as I can, aſſerted the Laws and Conſtitutions of my Country at Home, I will, with that Sincerity that becomes an *Engliſhman*, endeavour to vindicate the Honour of it Abroad, eſpecially in our King's Soveraignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, which *Grotius* ſo abſurdly, in his *Mare Liberum*, endeavours to rob them of. *A. Reg.* 9.

An Anſwer to Grotius *his* Mare Liberum, *wherein is ſhewed how often he contradicts himſelf; how ignorant he is in all Principles and Methods in Reaſoning; and how impoſſibly contrary his pretended Arguments are to Sacred Hiſtory, and all ancient Authority.*

But before we enter hereupon, it's fit to ſee, how the Caſe ſtood before *Grotius* wrote his *Mare Liberum*, as well in reference to the King of *England*'s Claim, as how the Caſe ſtood between the King and *Dutch*, when *Grotius* wrote his *Mare Liberum*.

And that we may avoid the endleſs Confuſions, which *Grotius*, above all other Writers abounds in, I require theſe Premiſes.

Firſt, That God made all things in the Waters, as well as upon the Earth, for the Uſe of Man.

Secondly, That no Man upon the Waters, as well as on the Earth, did live out of Society.

Thirdly, That in Society, the Offices of commanding and obeying are neceſſary.

Fourthly,

A.D. 1632 *Fourthly*, That Anarchy is as abhorrent among Men upon the Waters, as upon the firm Land; and as impoſſible for Men to ſubſiſt in the one as in the other.

Fifthly, Piracy by Sea, is a Crime equal to Theft by Land.

Sixthly, Killing a Man by Sea, without lawful Authority, is a Crime equal to Murder by Land.

Note, *Grotius* anſwers not one of theſe Principles, nor ſhews by any Authority, when or where the Dominion of the Seas was by Uſurpation: Whereas the contrary has been practiſed by Kings and States, as old as there are Records of any times; but only feigns Premiſes, not only contrary to the Authority of ſacred Hiſtory, and all Antiquity, but ſuch as are abſurd, blaſphemous, and impoſſible, conſidering the Nature of Man: But theſe are not ſaid in his *Mare Liberum*, but in his Preface and Treatiſe of *War and Peace*. So that to have anſwered theſe in this Treatiſe, would have ſwelled it to a much greater Bulk than intended; but if God pleaſe, I ſhall hereafter anſwer theſe in a Treatiſe by it ſelf.

The Principles thus premiſed, we proceed to enquire what Soveraignty the Kings of *England* have claimed in the *Britiſh* Seas, bordering upon *England* and *Ireland*, ſince that Kingdom became ſubject to the Crown of *England*; and leave it to unbiaſſed Readers, whether the Kings of *England* claimed any thing contrary to any of theſe Premiſes.

The Claims which the Kings of *England* make to the Soveraignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, are threefold:

1. To protect their Subjects in all their juſt Employments upon the *Britiſh* Seas, from all Hoſtility by Enemies; whereof the Fiſhing in theſe Seas are the chief.

2. To prevent Hoſtility by other Nations in theſe Seas.

3. To receive an Acknowledgment from all Nations for their Protection in theſe Seas, by ſtriking their Flag in Submiſſion to the King's Men of War which protect them.

By

By this Dominion of the *Britiſh* Seas, the Kings of *England* more ſecure their Subjects from foreign Invaſion, than any other Potentates in the World, how great ſoever their Territories are, can do. *A. Reg.* 9.

I will not ſwell this Treatiſe with what Mr. *Selden*, Sir *John Burroughs*, Mr. *Camden*, and others, have written of the Kings of *England* being poſſeſt of theſe Rights by immemorial Preſcription; and of the Maritime Laws they have made, as well in reference to their Subjects as Foreigners; nor of the Treaties they have made with Foreign Princes, and the Compoſitions they have made for Licence to fiſh in the *Britiſh* Seas, before the *Dutch* Government was formed into States; nor was ever theſe Rights diſputed by any of them, before *Grotius* did this Year.

Nor is this Dominion in the Seas new in the World, but as old as any Records of Time; for of old, the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Athenians* enjoyed it, and ſet Bounds to other Nations, how far they would permit Nations to Trade in them.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his Hiſtory of the World at large, ſets forth the long Wars between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, in the firſt *Punick* War for this Dominion; and the *Romans* being often beaten by the *Carthaginians*, reſolved to deſiſt further Contention herein, till they found that it was to little purpoſe to ſtrive to extend their Dominion by Land, if the *Carthaginians* were Maſters at Sea.

So that the Dominions of the Seas, which beat upon the Shores of Princes, are not new, or only uſurped by the Kings of *England*, but uſed by other Princes and States of old.

From more ancient, to deſcend to more recent times; the *Venetians* claim the Soveraignty in the *Adriatick* Gulf, tho' the *Venetian* Territories on either ſide of it, are not one ſixth part of it; and cauſe all Ships, even of the King of *Spain* and *Great Turk*, whoſe Territories on both ſides the Gulf are fivefold more than the *Venetians*, to pay Cuſtoms and other Duties.

In the Year 1630, *Mary*, the Siſter of the Queen of *Spain*, being eſpouſed to the Son of the Emperor *Ferdinand*,

A.D.1632 *Ferdinand*, the Vice-Roy of *Naples* provided a great Fleet to tranſport her to *Trieſti*; but tho' the *Venetians* were involved in a War Abroad, and infected with a Plague Home, they would not permit it; but conveyed her by a Fleet of their own. See *Jo. Palatius de Dom. Maris*, l. 2. c. 6.

In the Year 1638, a *Turkiſh* Fleet entring the Gulf without Licence, was aſſaulted by the *Venetian* Admiral, who ſunk divers of their Veſſels, and forced the reſt to fly to *Valona*, and there beſieged them, tho' the City and Port were in the Dominion of the *Great Turk*: yet tho' a dangerous War was like to have enſued hereon, the *Venetians*, rather than loſe their Dominion, inſiſted on their Right, and concluded an honourable Peace with the *Turk*; wherein it was agreed, *That as often as any* Turkiſh *Veſſels did without Licence*, enter the Gulf, it ſhould be lawful for the *Venetians* to ſeize upon them by force, if they would not otherwiſe obey, (ſee the Juſtification of the ſecond *Dutch* War by King *Charles* II. *pag.* 58.) and the *Grand Signior* prohibits all Nations, except his Vaſſals, to enter the *Euxine* or *Black-Sea*, as alſo the *Red-Sea*.

Dr. *Stubbe*, in his Juſtification of King *Charles* the Second's *Dutch* War, *page* 126, ſays, the *Danes* and *Norwegians* would not permit either *Fleming* or *Engliſh* to fiſh near *Schetland* without Licence previouſly obtained; and if any preſumed to fiſh without Licence, they puniſhed them with Loſs of Life and Limb, and were obliged to repair to *Berghen*, and pay their Duties into the King's Exchequer there, as appears by the *Daniſh* Records, and other Monuments preſerved in *England*: and this avowed to have been practiſed conſtantly Time out of Mind, *Ann.* 1432.

Afterwards, upon the Marriage of *James* III. of *Scotland*, with *Margaret* the Daughter of *Chriſtian* I. of *Norway*, the Rights of the Fiſhery upon *Schetland* were transferred to the King of *Scotland* and his Heirs, *Anno* 1470, and *William Walwed*, a *Scots* Lawyer, *c.* 3. *de Dominio Maris*, ſays, That in the paſt Age, after a moſt bloody Quarrel between the *Scots* and *Hollanders* about the Fiſhery, the Matter was at laſt compoſed in this manner.

That

That in time to come the Hollander *ſhould keep at leaſt eighty Miles from the Coaſts of* Scotland: *And if by Accident they were driven nearer by the Violence of the Weather, they paid a Tribute at the Port of* Aberdeen *before the Return; where there was a Caſtle built and fortified for this and other Occaſions.* A. Reg. 9.

Dr. *Scribe* ſays, That *Gerard Malinus*, a moſt inquiſitive Perſon, informed him, That after the Agreement between the King of *Scotland* and the *Hollanders*, that the *Dutch* ſhould not fiſh within eighty Miles of the *Scots* Coaſt, leſt the Shoals of Herrings ſhould be interrupted; King *James*, before his coming to the Crown of *England*, did let the Fiſhing upon the Coaſt of *Scotland* to the *Hollanders* for 15 Years: And if this happen'd in the Year 1594, when Prince *Henry* was born, then in the Year 1609, the Term expired, when King *James*, by his Proclamation, enjoined the *Dutch* which fiſhed upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*, to take Licences. But certain it is, that the *Dutch*, to careſs King *James* the more, at the Chriſtning of Prince *Henry*, were his Godfathers, and preſented the Prince with 400 Ounces of fine Gold, and a Deed ſealed up, whereby the Prince was yearly to receive 5000 *Florins* out of *Camp-vere*.

Mr. *Stubbe* ſays, *page* 131, I believe from Authors truly cited by him, The King of *Denmark* receives at his Ward-Houſe in the *Sound*, one Dollar for a Licence, and for the Seal, or Roſe, a Noble of every Ship; and for every Laſt of Herrings (being 12 Barrels) one Dollar. In *Ruſſia*, many Leagues from the *Main* (or Land) the Fiſhermen pay great Taxes to the King; and in moſt Places, none but the Natives are permitted to fiſh; but where the *Hollanders* are permitted to fiſh, they pay the tenth Fiſh to the Emperor. The King of *Sweden*, amongſt the Regalities of that Crown, hath that of the tenth Fiſh caught in his Seas; or if not that, a Compoſition for the Fiſhery: He has alſo ſeveral Diſtricts, Channels, or Veins Royal in his Seas, which are appropriated to his particular Uſe. Nor is there any Fiſhing permitted in the open Seas there, but by Leave and Direction of the Governor of the neighbouring Ports.

And

*A.D.*1633 And, *Page* 132, he ſays, The ſame is practiſed by the King of *Portugal* in the Kingdom of *Algarſues*, and the Natives pay a certain Tribute for their Liberty of fiſh: And in *Spain*, the Duke *de Medina Sidonia* does rent out of the Maritime Juriſdiction, what he hath in reference to Fiſhing, for 80000 Ducats of yearly Revenue.

Has not *Grotius* a fruitful Brain, to find out thoſe Uſages by Princes and States, in all Ages, to be Uſurpation againſt natural Right, which *lib.* 1. *ſect.* 10. *tit.* 5. *de jure Belli & Pacis*, is immutable by God himſelf; and which never any Man before preſumed to queſtion? But before we enquire into the Cauſes from which *Grotius* aſſumes to himſelf a Power, which he denies to be in God Almighty, let's ſee how the Caſe ſtood with the *Dutch* when *Grotius* wrote his *Mare Liberum*, both at Home and Abroad.

Tho' the Seas were free, *Jure naturali*, as *Grotius* ſays, yet I have ſeen a *Dutch* Placart, printed the Year before *Grotius* wrote his *Mare Liberum*, viz. 1632, and which *Grotius* might have ſeen as well as I, wherein the States preſcribe when and where the *Dutch* ſhall begin and proceed in their Fiſheries; and wherein they forbid the Uſe of *French* Salt in all their Fiſheries; and that Salts uſed in all of them ſhall be three Times reviſed in three ſeveral Offices, upon Penalty of Forfeiture of Fiſh and Salt; which, by *Grotius's* Doctrine, is an Uſurpation of the Natural Right which every Man has in the Sea, and immutable by God himſelf.

Dr. *Stubbe*, Page 132, ſays, That the Fiſhermen in one Year paid the States 300000 *l.* for the Herrings and Codfiſh taken upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*; beſides the tenth Fiſh and Cask, paid for Waſtage, which comes at leaſt to as much more, which are Duties proper to the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*. So that if what the Kings of *England* ever claimed by immemorial Preſcription, be an Uſurpation againſt natural Right, by *Grotius's* Doctrine, I would be willingly informed by any of *Grotius's* Diſciples, by what Right then do theſe new States impoſe theſe Things upon the *Dutch*, who fiſh in theſe Seas.

If

If the Sea be free, *Jure naturali*, let any Man ſhew a Reaſon, how the *Dutch* erect their *Eaſt-India* and *Weſt-India* Companies, only to trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*, *Africk*, and the *Weſt-Indies*, excluſive to the reſt of the *Dutch*, without a Violation of the natural Right of the other *Dutch*, which *Grotius* ſays is immutable by God. A. Reg. 9.

As *Grotius*'s Title, *Mare Liberum*, is abſurd, and contrary to the Practice of his Countrymen, ſo his *Manifeſto* of it is not leſs arrogant and intolerable, viz. *To the Princes and free People of the Chriſtian World*, without ſo much as the Addition of *ſending greeting*. An Arrogance which no Pope ever aſſumed, yet done by *Grotius*, an exotick and proſcribed Traitor, for raiſing Arms, and endeavouring to ſubvert the eſtabliſh'd Church and State of his native Country.

The Topick whereon he founds his *Manifeſto* is general, and ſuch as no Thief or Rogue ever pleaded to ſave their Lives; *viz. It is an Error not leſs old than peſtilent, which many Mortals, but thoſe eſpecially who moſt abound in Wealth, perſwade themſelves that Juſt and Unjuſt is not diſtinguiſhed by its own Nature, but by an empty Opinion and Cuſtom of Men; and that all Right is to be meaſured by the Will, and the Will by Profit.*

But who theſe are who maintain theſe Opinions, *Grotius* names none; if they were his Acquaintance (which I believe none of the Kings or Free People were, except his Countrymen were) he ſhould have convinced them to their Faces, and not ſneakingly have cavill'd at them behind their Backs. I ſay, I find this by no Nation or People ſo much practiſed as by the *Tripolins*, *Tunis*, *Algier*, and *Sally-men*, and his Countrymen, as will appear: And if this will not oblige all Chriſtian Princes and Free People to abandon all their Rights of Dominions to the Seas, whereof they have been poſſeſſed by immemorial Preſcription, and leave all free for the *Dutch* to do what they pleaſe in them, then *Grotius* is at a Nonplus further to enforce it in his *Manifeſto*: If any Man can find any thing elſe to do it, let him have it for his Pains, I'll not envy him. But how heinouſly ſoever *Grotius* takes this old and peſtilent Error, yet he allows it in himſelf, *L.* 1. *C.* 1. *Sect.* 10. *de Jure Belli*

A.D.1632 *Belli & Pacis*, where he makes the Original of human Society and the Law of Nature to be from the Will of Man, and to be immutable by God himſelf: But of this more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

The firſt Chapter of *Grotius's Mare Liberum* is, to ſhew, that *Jure Gentium*, Navigation is free to all Men every where; and therefore the *Dutch* may trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, tho' the *Portugueſe* were Lords of the whole *Eaſt-Indies*; but much more it would be unjuſt in the *Portugueſe* to exclude the *Dutch* from trading with thoſe People there who have no Dependance upon the *Portugueſe*, and are willing to entertain Trade and Commerce with the *Dutch*.

Anſwer, *He who accuſes another of any Crime, had need take care he be not guilty of the ſame himſelf: and if it be ſo old and peſtilent a Crime in Princes and States to claim a Dominion in the Sea, tho' enjoyed by Immemorial Preſcription*, Grotius *ſhould have done well to have ſhewed how his Countrymen (the beginning of whoſe States was in the Memory of Thouſands then alive) ſhould arrogate to themſelves to be Commanders of all the Seas in the World, Protectors of all the Kings and Princes in* Europe, *and Supream Moderators of all the Affairs of all* Chriſtendom, *as you may read in* William de Britaine *of the* Dutch *Uſurpation*, pag. 20.

If it be ſo old and peſtilent an Error in the King of England *to claim an Acknowledgment of Submiſſion of the* Dutch, *for the King's protecting them in the* Britiſh *Seas; how much more peſtilent an Errror was it for the* Dutch, *Anno* 1620, *without any Provocation of the* Engliſh, *and in time of Peace, to ſeize the* Bear *and* Star, *two* Engliſh *Ships, in the* Straits *of* Mallaca, *going to* China, *and confiſcated Ships and Goods valued at* 150000 l? *See* William de Britaine, *pag.* 18. *So that it is by* Grotius *his Doctrine an old and peſtilent Error in the King of* England, *to protect all Nations in the* Britiſh *Seas from Piracy and Violence, and free to the* Dutch *to be Pirates in the* Indian *Seas, by a Grant from* Hugo Grotius.

If the Seas be free, Jure Gentium, *for all Nations to trade with one the other, How then came it to paſs, that the* Dutch *excluded all Nations from trading to* Amboyna *and* Polloroon *for Spice, to which they had no Title, but by forcing the* Engliſh *from them in Times of Peace, and when*

when they received no Injury from the Engliſh, *&c. to ſay no worſe?* *A. Reg. 9.*

And if it be ſo much more injurious for the Portugueſe *to hinder the* Dutch *from trading to thoſe Kingdoms and People in the* Eaſt-Indies, *who have no Dependance upon the* Portugueſe; *I would know a Reaſon why it is not as highly injurious in the* Dutch *by their Fort* Lillo *upon the* Scheld, *to hinder the* Engliſh *and all other Nations from trading to* Antwerp, *and other Places in the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *which have no Dependance upon the* Dutch.

Here give me leave to obſerve, (tho' after *Grotius* wrote his *Mare Liberum*) That in the *Marine* Treaty made by King *Charles* II. *Anno* 1674, it was agreed by the firſt Article, That the Subjects of the King ſhould with all Freedom and Safety ſail and trade in all thoſe Kingdoms and Countries in Peace, Amity or Neutrality with the King, and not be hindred or moleſted by Military Force, or Ships of War of the *Dutch*, upon any occaſion of Hoſtility or Difference which now is, or hereafter ſhall be; yet this Treaty was ſcarce concluded, when the *Engliſh* Ships trading to *Antwerp*, were ſtopt by a *Dutch* Man of War riding before the Fort *Lillo*, and forced to go back to *Fluſhing* or *Rotterdam*, and there conſtrained to unlade their Veſſels and pay their Cuſtoms, and lade their Goods in *Dutch* Bottoms, and to pay ſuch Freights as the *Dutch* pleaſed to impoſe upon them; and this Uſage, notwithſtanding this Treaty, is ſtill continued. I think a like Inſtance cannot be given, that ever any King of *England* ſerved the *Dutch* or any other Nation ſo trading in the *Britiſh* Seas.

I do agree with *Grotius*, That God hath ſo diſpoſed this our habitable Globe, that ſome Places abound with Things convenient and neceſſary for human Uſe, which the People of other Places want; and that for the Entertainment of mutual Society and Commerce in all the habitable Places of the World, Acceſſion may be had by Water, which cannot be done by Land; but this cannot be done in a State of Anarchy, or where Men live out of Society; which tho' *Grotius* would have the Dominion of the Sea to be, yet he gives not one Inſtance of it, nor how it can poſſibly be; but more of this when we examine

A.D.1633 *Grotius* his Original of human Society in his Treatiſe, *De Jure Belli & Pacis.*

The ſecond Chapter of *Grotius's Mare Liberum* is, that the *Portugueſe* have not right of Dominion to thoſe *Indies* to which the *Dutch* trade, by the Title of Invention, or firſt finding them out.

Anſw. They have as good a Title as the *Dutch* have to their new *Batavia*, which they filcht from the Natives; or to *Amboyna*, *Polloroon*, the Iſlands of *Seran*, *Nero*, *Waire*, *Baſingen*, *Latro*, *Cambello*, *Nitto*, *Larica* and *Lantare*, which they filcht from the *Engliſh*, then at Peace and Amity with them.

The third Chapter is, The *Portugueſe* have no right of Dominion to the *Indies* by the Donation of the Pope.

Anſw. Yet this Title is better than the *Dutch* have, who have no Donation but by their own Will and Uſurpation.

The fourth Chapter is, The *Portugueſe* have no right of Dominion againſt the *Indians* by the Title of War.

Anſw. As much as the *Dutch* have; nor did they ever practiſe ſuch Barbarities againſt the Natives and other Nations trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as the *Dutch* have done, and yet do.

The fifth Chapter is, That the right of navigating to the *Indies*, is not proper to the *Portugueſe* by the Title of Occupation; and here *Grotius* tells you abundance of Fictions of Poets, and Tales of popular Orators, which may ſerve better for Ballads, than Foundations of a Diſcourſe of this Nature.

Anſw. The *Portugueſe* Title herein is better than the *Dutch*, for they were Occupatants long before the *Dutch* were, or their Government was form'd into States.

The ſixth Chapter is the ſame with the third, and needs no other Anſwer.

The ſeventh Chapter (tho' in the Print the third) is, That the right of Navigation is not proper to the *Portugueſe* by the Title of Preſcription or Cuſtom.

Anſw. As *Grotius* puts the Caſe at large, I do not find nor believe the *Portugueſe* ever claimed or pretended to any ſuch Cuſtom or Preſcription; ſo this

is

is a Bag of Clouts of *Grotius's* own ſetting up, and he might have ſaved himſelf the Labour of throwing Stones at it. *A. Reg.* 9.

The eighth Chapter is, That *Jure Gentium*, Trade is free with all Men.

Anſw. True, but this is in eſtabliſhed Governments, and not in a State of Anarchy, and where Men live out of Society, as *Grotius* drives at.

In the ninth Chapter, *Grotius* chews the Cud upon what he ſaid, Chapter the fifth, and needs no other Anſwer.

The tenth is the ſame with the third Chapter.

The eleventh Chapter is, That the Trade with the *Indians* is not proper to the *Portugueſe* by right of Preſcription or Cuſtom.

Anſw. This Chapter is more reſtrained than the ſeventh, yet it is ſo large, if you take the *Indies*, as our *Eaſt-India* Company does, from *Cape Bon Speranza* to the North of *China*, including the Eaſt of *Africk*, and both ſides of the *Red-Sea* and *Perſian* Gulph, and the Iſlands which lie between the *Cape of Good-Hope* and the North of *China*, it is more than half the Circumference of the Globe of the Earth: But this is another Bag of Clouts of *Grotius's* ſetting up, for I do not believe or find the *Portugueſe* ever made any ſuch Claim, or if they did, it would have been impoſſible to have maintained it.

The twelfth Chapter is, That the *Portugueſe* endeavour by no Equity to forbid Trade, *which if they do, I do agree with* Grotius. Theſe Premiſes, thus learnedly eſtabliſhed, you need not doubt but that

The thirteenth Chapter is, That the *Dutch* have a right of entertaining Commerce to the *Eaſt-Indies*, as well in Peace and in making Truces, as in War.

Note, I have heard a Story of the *Cham* of *Tartary*, That after he has din'd, he gives leave, by ſound of Trumpet, to all the other Princes and Potentates in the World to go to Dinner: So *Grotius*, after he had bound up all Nations at Land by his Civil Compact in his *Jus Belli & Pacis*, in his *Mare Liberum* gives the *Dutch* Liberty to do what they pleaſe at Sea, by a Grant from *Hugo Grotius*.

A.D.1633 But I have often wondred what ſhould engage *Grotius* to write this Treatiſe of *Mare Liberum* in favour of his Countrymen; for at this time he was a proſcrib'd Traitor by them, and if you'll take his Word, in the Dedication of his *Jus Belli & Pacis*, to L[illegible] XIII. he was ill uſed by them, unleſs it were as *Caius Marius* did, after he was proſcrib'd by the Senate to be an Enemy to *Rome*, refuſed to enter *Rome* till his Proſcription was revok'd by the Senate, which when they met to do, *Marius* entred *Rome* and maſſacred them: So *Grotius* hoped by this Treatiſe to have his Proſcription reverſed, and that he might return Home again to ſet his Countrymen at Land together by the Ears, and in Tumults, as he endeavoured to have done before.

And if it be true which *Grotius* ſays, *Lib. 2. cap. 2. de Jure Belli & Pacis*, that before the Civil Pact all things at Land were in common; and that no Man had Right to any thing, but that another by the ſame Right might take it from him, and that the Civil Pact was never of the Sea: Whether this does not juſtify all Pirates and Robbers at Sea in all their Depredations and Piracies? But becauſe we ſee but by halves here, we will hereafter examine his Civil Pact, and ſee how Men by his Reaſons come to be bound up by Land, and looſe at Sea, which neither Mr. *Selden*, nor any other that I have ſeen who wrote againſt *Mare Liberum* have done. But if it be ſo old and peſtilent an Error in all other Chriſtian Kings and States, to aſſert their Rights and Dominion upon the Seas, *Grotius*, if he had had any Ingenuity, ſhould have admoniſhed his Countrymen to have avoided this old and peſtilent Error before he charged all other Chriſtian Princes and States with it, but of this he ſays not one word.

But to return; *Noy*, how zealous ſoever he was againſt granting the King Tunnage and Poundage, he muſt now find a way how the King may raiſe Ship-money, beſides Tunnage and Poundage not granted by Parliament, nor Ship money neither: The Groundwork was, that the King was in great Danger by Pirates, and the ſole Judge of the Danger; He had finiſhed the Work, but liv'd not to ſee it put in Execution,

cution, for he died the 9th of *Auguſt*, 1634. to the great regret of the Archbiſhop. *A. Reg.* 10.

In *September* following, Sir *Edward Coke* died, but upon his Death-Bed Sir *Francis Windebank*, *Laud*'s old Friend, by an Order of Council, came to ſearch for ſeditious and dangerous Papers, by virtue whereof he took Sir *Edward Coke*'s Comment upon *Littleton*, and the Hiſtory of his Life before it, written with his own Hand; his Comment upon *Magna Charta*, &c. the Pleas of the Crown, and Juriſdiction of Courts, and his 11th and 12th Reports in Manuſcript, and I think 51 other Manuſcripts, with the laſt Will of Sir *Edward*, wherein he had for ſeveral Years been making Proviſions for his younger Grandchildren: The Books and Papers were kept till ſeven Years after, when one of Sir *Edward*'s Sons in 1641, moved the Houſe of Commons, that they might be delivered to Sir *Robert Coke*, Heir of Sir *Edward*, which the King was pleaſed to grant, and ſuch as could be found were delivered; but Sir *Edward*'s Will was never heard more of to this Day.

Sir *Edward* is removed by Death in *September*, and Sir *Robert Heath* in *October*, from being Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, to make room for Sir *John Finch*, as *Heath* before had been made Chief Juſtice to make room for *Noy* to be Attorney-General: You need not fear but that Sir *John Finch* (now a Favorite of the King and Queen, and Archbiſhop) who could put no Queſtion when he was Speaker, ſhall, without Queſtion, judge Ship-money to be lawful, whatever *Magna Charta*, or *Petition of Right* ſays to the contrary: Nor ſhall he ſtay here, but be the prime Agent in breaking through the Bounds of *Charta de Foreſta*, by enlarging the Limits of the Foreſt, ſo as no Man, if the Parliament in 1641 had not prevented it, could tell where it would have ſtopped. But this was not all the Reaſon why *Heath* was turned out and *Finch* put in, it was *Kilvert*'s Pleaſure, one of *Laud*'s Inſtruments, to ruin his Patron the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and it exceeds all Belief, by what execrable Means *Laud*, by *Finch*, *Kilvert* and *Windebank*, conſpired the Ruin of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, if ſo grave an Author as the Biſhop of *Litch-*

A.D.1634 *field* had not reported it in the Biſhop of *Lincoln's* Life.

Ship-Money levied. The Writs for Ship-Money are now iſſued out; the Proceedings againſt the Officers for not collecting the Aſſeſſments, as Conſtables, Bayliffs, and other Officers, were to bind them over to anſwer at the Council-board, and Commitment, if they refuſed to give Bond; but if Sheriffs neglect to collect all ſuch Aſſeſſments in their Year, they ſhall ſtand charged with the Arrears. Thus Things at preſent ſtood, but the breaking the Bounds of the Foreſts was but in *Embrio*, yet in a hopeful Production.

Thus Things ſtood in the State about the end of the Year 1634. In the Church the Archbiſhop had the ſole Supremacy, not only in *England*, but in *Scotland*, having got a Warrant from the King to hold Correſpondence with the Biſhops; and alſo in *Ireland*, being choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Dublin*, and having got Sir *Thomas Wentworth* to be Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who was now as much his intimate Confident as *Noy* was before.

Archbiſhop Laud's Injunctions. In *England*, the Archbiſhop's Injunctions for wearing the Surplice, receiving the Sacrament kneeling, and placing the Communion-Table, Altar-ways, and railing it about, *&c.* were vehemently proſecuted, with the opprobrious Names of *Puritan* and *Schiſmatick* fixed upon *Non-conformiſts*, with Deprivations and Cenſures upon Lecturers and Chaplains who refuſed to come up to them; if they did, they muſt forſake their Patrons, Patroneſſes and Flocks who provided them Bread, ſo that they contended *pro Aris & Focis*, and otherways no Proviſion was made for them. On the contrary, they retorted on the Biſhops and promoted Clergy with bitter Terms of Popiſhly affected, and Rags of *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*; ſo that the Contentions all over the Kingdom were as fierce as in the Univerſities.

But it had been happy for this Nation, if the Effects of theſe Contentions had been terminated in the Bounds of it: For the Archbiſhop, in his Metropolitan Viſitation this Year 1634, ſummoned the Miniſters of the *Dutch* and *French* Churches to appear

pear before his Vicar-General, where all the Natives, *viz.* born in *England*, were enjoined to repair to their ſeveral Pariſh-Churches to hear Diyine Service and Sermons, and perform all Duties and Payments required in that behalf. *A.Reg.* 10.

The Deſcendants of thoſe *Walloons* perſecuted by *Alva*, and of the *French* by *Henry* II. of *France*, had for near ninety Years been allowed their ſeveral Congregations by Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* I. and had the Royal Word of King *Charles* for enjoying of them: But now at once they muſt be turn'd out of them.

When theſe Injunctions were to be put in Execution at *Norwich*, the *Dutch* and *French* Congregations petitioned Dr. *Matthew Wren*, that theſe Injunctions might not be impoſed upon them; but finding no Relief, appealed to the Arch-biſhop, who returned a ſharp Anſwer, that unleſs they would ſubmit, he would proceed againſt them according to the Laws and Canons Eccleſiaſtical.

Here take notice, that as the *Spaniſh* Trade was the moſt enriching Trade to this Nation; ſo the Trade to *Hamburg*, and the Countries and Kingdoms within the *Sound* with our Woollen Manufactures, was the beſt the *Engliſh* had for Employment of People, Shipping and Navigation: The Company which traded into the *Sound*, was call'd the *Eaſt*-Country Company; and Queen *Elizabeth*, and after her King *James*, to honour them, called it the Royal Company.

This Trade the *Engliſh* enjoyed time out of mind; and the Cloths which ſupplied it, were principally made in *Suffolk* and *Yorkſhire*: And *Ipſwich*, as it was the fineſt Town in *England*, and had the nobleſt Harbour on the *Eaſt*, and moſt convenient for the Trade of the *Northern* and *Eaſtern* Parts of the World, ſo till this time it was in as flouriſhing a State as any other in *England*.

The ill Effects of the Biſhop of Norwich's ſtraining them.

The Biſhop of *Norwich* ſtraining theſe Injunctions to the utmoſt, frighted thouſands of Families out of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* into *New-England*; and about one hundred forty Families of the Workers of thoſe Woollen Manufactures, wherewith *Hamburg* and the

*A.D.*1634 Countries within the *Sound* were ſupplied, went into *Holland*; where the *Dutch*, as wiſe as Queen *Elizabeth* was in entertaining the *Walloons* perſecuted by the Duke of *Alva*, eſtabliſhed theſe *Engliſh* Exciſe-free, and Houſe-Rent free for ſeven Years; and from theſe the *Dutch* became inſtructed in working theſe Manufactures, which before they knew not.

But the Care of the Arch-biſhop for Reformation of the Church of *Scotland*, was not leſs than for that of *England*; and to that end got the King to ſign a Common-Prayer Book for the Uſe of the Church of *Scotland*; and gave order to the Biſhops there, to compile certain Canons for the Government of the Church, and there to be impoſed by Regal and Epiſcopal Authority; and to this end *Laud* held Correſpondence with the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and other Biſhops of *Scotland*.

Whilſt theſe things were brewing in *England* and *Scotland*, you need not fear *Ireland*, now Sir *Thomas Wentworth* was Lieutenant there. A moſt dreadful War overſpread *Germany*; and *Philip* the IVth, a weak laſcivious Prince, reign'd in *Spain*, ſo as *Richlieu* had a fair Opportunity to ſubdue *Monſieur* the King's Brother, and overthrow the Forces raiſed by the Duke of *Montmorancy*, to aſſiſt *Monſieur*; wherein the Duke was unhappily taken Priſoner, and had his Head cut off, being a young Prince of greateſt Hope, the moſt antient of the *French* Nobility, and the laſt of his Line. But he did not reſt here, but built more and better Men of War than had been before in *France*, and *Spain* ſhall firſt find the Force of them, in return of their Kindneſs in joining their Fleet with the *French*, in relieving St. *Martins* in the Iſle of *Rhee*, beſieged by the *Engliſh*: And this Year, 1634, *Richlieu* trick'd *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain* out of his Dutchy; and the next, the King of *France* proclaims open War againſt *Spain* by Sea and Land; and in 1638 (ten Years after the *Spaniards* joining with the *French* againſt the *Engliſh*) the *French* beſieged *Fontaraby* by Land, which the *Spaniards* intending to relieve by Sea, the *Spaniſh* Fleet is encountred by the *French*, and beaten; the *French* took eleven great Ships, whereof ſix of them were richly laden for the *Indies*,

and

and burnt two Gallions upon the Stocks, and ſix others entirely finiſhed: In the Ships taken, beſides their Equipage, and other Ammunition of War, the *French* took an incredible Number of Cannons, one hundred whereof were Braſs, with the Arms of the Houſe of *Auſtria* upon them. Afterward, the *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleet fight in the *Mediterranean-Sea*, where the *Spaniard* is again beaten by the *French*; and by Land the *French* take from the *Spaniard*, *Landrecy*, *Beaumont*, and *de la Valette* in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; *Perpignan* (the Key of *Spain*, on the Foot of the *Pyrenæan* Hills) in the County of *Rouſſillon*; and *Barcelona*, a good Port, and the capital City of *Catalonia*. *A. Reg.* 11.

In *England*, this Year, 1635, there was great Contrivance between the Arch-biſhop *Laud*, and Biſhops of *Scotland*, how to erect a *High Commiſſion* Court in *Scotland* by the King's Authority, without Conſent in Parliament, for proceeding againſt ſuch as would not ſubmit to the *Common-Prayer* Book, and Canons enjoined by the King and Biſhops of *Scotland*: and upon the 28th of *February*, the Arch-biſhop conſecrated Dr. *Manwaring*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, a worthy Succeſſor to ſo Saint-like and Pious a Predeceſſor; for this Biſhoprick was *Laud*'s firſt Preferment.

You have ſeen his Grace of *Canterbury*'s Temper towards the King's Subjects; now ſee how it was towards the King. His Grace being as high as *England* could admit, *viz.* Metropolitan, and firſt Peer thereof, would viſit both Univerſities by his Metropolitan Right, and not by Commiſſion from the King, and ſignified ſo much to both; to which both anſwered, *That to admit it without a Warrant from the King, was a Wrong to the Univerſities*; his Grace was Chancellor of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Holland* of *Cambridge*. The Cauſe came to a hearing before the King and Council, the 21ſt of *June*, 1634; where the Attorney General *Banks* was for his Grace againſt the King; Mr. *Gardener*, the Recorder of *London*, for *Cambridge*; and Serjeant *Thyn* for *Oxford*, the Cauſe was ſhortly this: *Archbiſhop Laud would viſit the Univerſities Metropolitanly.*

Both ſides agreed in this, that both Univerſities were of the King's Foundation, and ſo might be viſited,

*A.D.*1635 viſited, as they had often been, by Commiſſion from the King: But this would not do with his Grace, he would, to uſe his own Words, *viſit by his own Right*.

Serjeant *Thyn* urged againſt this, the King's Foundation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and that never any Archbiſhop ſo viſited: But the Recorder could not ſay ſo of *Cambridge*; which happened upon this Occaſion: In the Reign of *Richard* the 2d, *Wickliff*'s Doctrine prevailed much in both Univerſities; and *Arundel*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (as zealous to ſuppreſs the *Wicklevites*, as *Laud* was the *Puritans*) to ſuppreſs them did viſit *Jure Metropolitano*; but *Oxford* oppoſed him *forti Manu*: Upon this, *Arundel* appeals to the King, who being a weak Prince, and as zealous for the then Church, as King *Charles* was for *Laud*'s, declares the Right to be in the Biſhop; ſo did *Henry* the 4th, the Current running againſt *Wickliff*, which was afterwards confirmed in Parliament; but *Cambridge* was not in it: Yet never before did any Archbiſhop viſit *Oxford*, nor *Cambridge*, ſince the Year 1404, *Jure Metropolitano*, as his Grace would do; and ſo the Cauſe went for the Archbiſhop.

Plum'd thus in his own Feathers, all black and white, without one borrowed from *Cæſar*, whereby the more he aſſumes to himſelf, the leſs he leaves the King, he now ſoars higher; the Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, in their own Names, enjoin the Removal of the Communion Table in the Pariſh Churches and Univerſities, from the Body of the Church or Chancel, to the Eaſt of the Chancel, and cauſe Rails to be ſet about the Table, and refuſe to adminiſter the Sacrament to ſuch as ſhall not come up to the Rails, and receive it kneeling; that the Book of Sports on *Sundays* be read in Churches; and enjoin Adoration.

I do no find that Adoration was ever enjoined before, nor any of the fore-named Injunctions in any Canon of the Church; ſure I am, they were never publickly put in Execution: ſo that whether theſe were any of the Canons of the Church or not, was not underſtood by one of ten thouſand; and the Lecturers, Chaplains and School-maſters, who had

no

no Maintenance from the Church, being principally ſtruck at by theſe Injunctions, make all the ſiniſter and worſt Conſtructions they could invent againſt them; ſo that though thoſe Injunctions had been founded in the Canons of the Church, yet the contrary was believed, and ſo had the ſame Effect as if they had not been founded in the Church-Canons. *A. Reg.* 12.

Here I cannot omit one Paſſage; That ſeveral were deprived by the Biſhop's Authority, for refuſing to read the Book of Sports on *Sunday:* Whereas King *James* the 2d. allowed the ſeven Biſhops a legal Trial for refuſing to enjoin the Clergy to read his Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, and the Biſhops were acquitted.

That the Legality of theſe Proceedings might be manifeſt, a Proclamation was iſſued out, that it was the Opinion of the Judges, that the Act of the 1 *Edw.* 6. 2. which ordains that Biſhops ſhould hold their Eccleſiaſtical Courts in the King's Name, or by Commiſſion from him, was repealed by the 1ſt of Queen *Mary*; though this Act was repealed by the 1 *Jac.* 25. and ſo the Act 1 *Edw.* 6. 2. was revived, and ſo reſolved upon a full Debate in Parliament 7 *Jacobi.*

The Thunder of thoſe Canons, the terrible and unheard of Execution of them in the *Star-Chamber* againſt all Oppoſers, by Speech or Writing, ſo terrified the *Puritans* which would not ſubmit, that incredible Numbers of them left the Kingdom, to inhabit in foreign *Plantations*, eſpecially in *New-England*, where theſe Eccleſiaſtical Canons could not well play upon them. But to reſtrain the further Evaſion of them, the King by Proclamation, the 30th of *April* 1638, ſtops all the Ports of *England*, to keep them in it: The Reaſon was, no doubt, that they might be better inſtructed in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* here, than elſewhere.

But Ship-Money, notwithſtanding my Lord Keeper *Coventry*'s Charge to the Judges laſt Year, that in their Circuits they ſhould give Charge how juſtly the King required Ship-Money for the common Defence, and with what Alacrity and Chearfulneſs they (the Subjects) are bound in Duty to contribute; *Mr.* Hampden *refuſes to pay Ship-Money.*

yet

*A.D.*1636 yet this did not paſs for true Doctrine with all; for Mr. *Hampden*, upon Advice with *Holborn*, *St. John*, and *Whitlock*, denied the Payment, whereupon ſeveral other Gentlemen refuſed alſo.

Hereupon the King was adviſed by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Finch* to require the Opinion of his Judges, which he did in a Letter to them; and after much Solicitation by the Chief Juſtice, promiſing Preferment to ſome, and highly threatning others whom he found doubting, he got from them, in Anſwer to the King's Letter and Caſe, their Opinion in theſe Words:

Opinions of the Judges upon it.

WE are of Opinion, That when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, you may, by your Writ under the Great Seal of England, *command all your Subjects of this your Kingdom, at their Charge, to provide and furniſh ſuch number of Ships, with Men, Victuals and Ammunition, and for ſuch time as your Majeſty ſhall think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom from Peril and Danger. And that your Majeſty may compel the doing thereof in caſe of Refuſal or Refractorineſs. And we are alſo of Opinion, that in ſuch Caſe, your Majeſty is ſole Judge, both of the Danger, and when, and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided.*

This Opinion was ſigned by *Davenport*, *Denham*, *Hutton*, *Croke*, *Trevor*, *Bramſton*, *Finch*, *Vernon*, *Berkly*, *Crawley*, and *Weſton*.

The King having previouſly extorted the Judges Opinions *ex parte*, gave order for the Proceedings againſt Mr. *Hampden* in the Exchequer, where he pleaded; and the King's Council demurring, the Point in Law came to be argued on both ſides. Mr. *Whitlock* has a remarkable Paſſage of Judge *Croke*, concerning his Opinion in the Caſe, of which he ſpeaks knowingly, *viz.* that the Judge was reſolved to give his Judgment for the King, and to that end had prepared his Arguments; yet a few Days before he was to argue, upon ſome Diſcourſe with ſome of his neareſt Relations, and moſt ſerious Thoughts of the Buſineſs, and being hearkned

thereto

thereto by his Lady, who was a good and pious Woman, told her Husband upon this Occaſion, *That ſhe hoped he would do nothing againſt his Conſcience, for fear of any Danger or Prejudice to him or his Family; and that ſhe was content to ſuffer Want, or any Miſery with him, rather than be an Occaſion for him to do or ſay any thing againſt his Conſcience or Judgment.* *A. Reg.* 12.

Upon theſe, and many the like Encouragements, but chiefly upon better Thoughts, he ſuddenly altered his Purpoſe and Arguments, and when it came to his turn, contrary to Expectation, he argued and declared his Opinion againſt the King; and ſo did Judge *Hutton* after; however, the reſt of the Judges gave their Opinions againſt Mr. *Hampden.*

However, the King this Year, to ſweeten the Judges Opinion for levying Ship-Money, ſet out a Navy of ſixty Men of War to diſturb the *Dutch* Fiſhing on the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who ſeized and ſunk ſeveral of the *Dutch* Buſſes: whereupon they ſued to the King for leave to fiſh, promiſing to pay an Acknowledgment of 30000 *l. per Annum.* But this ill agreed with the King's Reaſon for levying Ship-Money, which was, that Pirates infeſted our Coaſts to the indangering the Safety of the Nation. See *William de Britaine*, *f.* 16, 17.

But if the *Dutch* were thus bold upon our Coaſts, by the Liberty granted them by *Hugo Grotius*, they were much bolder in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where they ſtile themſelves Soveraigns of all the Seas in the World; for *Anno* 1620, they ſeized upon two Ships of the *Engliſh* called the *Bear* and the *Star*, in the Straits of *Mallaca*, going to *China*, and confiſcated Ships and Goods valued at 150000 *l.* I ſuppoſe *Grotius* could not give a like Inſtance of any *Dutch* Ships ſo uſed for paſſing through the Channel; and laſt Year, *viz.* 1635, an *Engliſh* Ship call'd the *Bona Eſperanſa*, going towards *China* by the Straits of *Mallaca*, was violently aſſaulted by three *Dutch* Men of War, the Maſter and many of the Men killed, and the Ship brought into *Mallaca*, and there the Ship and Goods were confiſcated, valued at 150000 *l.* and this very Year the *Dragon* and *Katherine*, two *Engliſh* Ships of Sir

William

A.D.1636 *William Courten*, valued at 300000*l.* beſides the Commanders and others, who had great Eſtates in them, were ſet upon by ſeven *Dutch* Men of War as they paſt the Straits of *Mallaca* from *China*, and by them taken, the Men tied Back to Back, and thrown over-board, the Goods taken out of the Ships, which were ſunk, and ſeized for the State.

The State and Church of *England* thus eſtabliſhed in Doctrine and Diſcipline, the Archbiſhop's next Care was, to have the ſame in *Scotland*; and herein he was ſo abſolute, that the King told the Marquiſs *Hamilton*, when he was his Commiſſioner in *Scotland*, that the Archbiſhop was the only *Engliſhman* he entruſted in the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *Scotland*; and no Care need be had of the Church of *Ireland*, ſince my Lord Viſcount *Wentworth* was Lieutenant there, who, to all Intents, purſued the Archbiſhop's Inſtructions. Here let's ſee how the Church ſtood in *Scotland*, before the Archbiſhop undertook to reform it.

Account of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland.

James V. of *Scotland* died the 13th of *December*, 1542, leaving only one Daughter, *Mary*, but five Days old, by *Mary* of *Lorrain* his Wife, Siſter to *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe*, and *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, two the moſt powerful Princes in *France*, after King *Henry* II. and the moſt zealouſly addicted to the *Popiſh Religion*.

After the King's Death, Cardinal *Beaton* got a Prieſt, (*Henry Balfour*) to forge the King's Will, whereby the Cardinal, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argile*, and *Murray*, were to have the Government during the Queen's Minority; but the Nobility not believing it, choſe the Earl of *Arran* Governor; and *Henry*, the King of *England*, deſiring to unite the Kingdoms, by marrying his Son *Edward* with the Infant-Queen, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Governor and Council of *Scotland*, to conſent to this Marriage, which was done, only the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal diſſenting; and this was confirm'd by the Parliament convened at *Edinburgh* the 13th of *March* following: Yet the Queen-Mother and Cardinal got the Queen to be marry'd to *Francis* the Dauphin, Son of *Henry* II. of *France*.

In

In this Parliament the *Scots* were permitted to read the Scripture in the *Engliſh* Tongue, till the Prelates ſhould publiſh one more correct. But in the Year 155[illegible], the *Scots* began their Reformation in Religion at *Perth*: The intervening Accidents of the *Scots* Endeavours to reform, and the Oppoſition by the Regent, the Cardinal, and the Prelates, you may read in Biſhop *Spotſwood*'s Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*, and Sir *James Melvil*'s Memoirs. *A. Reg.* 12.

To ſuppreſs the Progreſs of this Reformation, the Queen-Mother, who was Regent, calls in an Army and Navy of *French* to oppoſe them: The Reformers call in an Army and Navy of *Engliſh*; the *Engliſh* Fleet fire the *French* Ships in their Harbour, and compel the *French* to leave *Scotland*; and in 1560, the Queen-Regent died, leaving *Scotland* in a kind of *Interregnum*.

In *Auguſt* following, a Parliament convened at *Edinburgh*, by a Warrant from the King and Queen, wherein the *Maſs* and *Popery* were ſuppreſſed, and the Reformation of the Kirk of *Scotland* in Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed; but the King and Queen, now of *France* as well as *Scotland*, refuſed to confirm either; nor was this Kirk-Doctrine and Diſcipline confirmed till the Queen was depoſed, and *Murray* made Regent in 1567.

The Reformation was purely after the Mode of *Calvin*, and Church of *Geneva*; a *Common-Prayer* was ordained, not ſtrictly to be obſerved, but as a Pattern of Prayer: In it were ordained four ſorts of Aſſemblies, *viz.* National, Provincial, Weekly Meetings of Miniſters, and the Elderſhip of every Pariſh.

Superintendents were likewiſe eſtabliſhed, whoſe Office was to viſit the Kirk within limited Places; theſe had Power to cite and deprive Miniſters, but muſt be aſſiſted by ſome grave Miniſters next adjoining, as alſo to ordain Miniſters.

But the Hierarchy of the Church of *Scotland*, as they were eſteemed one of the States in Parliament, was not then, nor after taken away by Parliament, nor their Power of Ordination and Viſiting within their Dioceſſes; yet in Viſitation and Ordination, the Superintendents had a concurring Power with the Biſhops,

A.D. 1636 Biſhops, and the Biſhops were ſubject to be cited and proceeded againſt for Scandal, neglect of their Office, Symony, &c. by the General Aſſemblies.

This Reformation, *viz.* 1581, was ſubſcribed by King *James* and all the Houſhold, and afterward King *Charles* in 1633, being crowned at *Edingburgh*, where the Form ordained by the King was obſerved, and the King ſwore to obſerve the Reformation as it then ſtood: But ſome Alterations were made by King *James* in 1610, and by the five Articles of *Perth*, in favour of the Biſhops, and more conformable to the Church of *England*.

King *James*, who loved the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland* no better than the *Puritans* in *England*, *Anno* 1610, called a general Aſſembly at *Glaſcow*, wherein theſe Concluſions were enacted.

Concluſions of Glaſcow.

1. *That the Indictions of General Aſſemblies belong to the King by the Prerogative of his Crown.*

2. *That Synods be kept twice in the Year, to be moderated by the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of the Dioceſs.*

3. *That no Excommunication or Abſolution be pronounced without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Biſhop of the Dioceſs.*

4. *That the Preſentation of Benefices for the Time to come by Death or Lapſes be directed to the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſs.*

5. *That in Depoſition of the Miniſters, the Biſhop do aſſociate himſelf with ſome of the Miniſters within the Dioceſs.*

6. *That every Miniſter at his Admiſſion do ſwear Obedience to his Majeſty and his Ordinary.*

7. *That the Viſitation of the Dioceſs be made by the Biſhop himſelf; but if the Dioceſs be too great, by ſuch a worthy Miniſter of the Dioceſs as the Biſhop ſhall appoint.*

8. *That no Convention of Miniſters be moderated by the Biſhop, or a Miniſter named by him: No Miniſter to ſpeak againſt any of theſe Concluſions.*

This Year alſo King *James*, not well-pleaſed with Presbyterian Ordination, cauſed the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, the Biſhops of *Brichen* and *Galloway*, to be re-ordained in *England* by the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Bath*; and alſo erected a High Commiſſion

in

in *Scotland*, for ordering Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which you may read in *Spotſwood*'s Hiſtory of the Church: And all theſe were ratified by the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh*, 1612. *A. Reg.* 12.

But King *James* did not ſtay here; but propounded to have theſe five Articles to be paſſed the General Aſſembly in *Scotland*.

1. *That the Sacrament be received Kneeling.* *Articles of*
2. *That the Sacrament be not denied Dying Perſons deſiring the ſame.* *Perth.*
3. *That Baptiſm be not deferred longer than till next* Sunday *after Birth, unleſs there be reaſonable Cauſe to the contrary.*
4. *That appoſite Sermons be made upon the Days of Chriſt's* Birth; Paſſion; Reſurrection; Aſcenſion, *and ſending the* Holy Ghoſt.
5. *That the Miniſter in every Pariſh catechiſe Children; ſo as to be qualified to be confirmed by the Biſhop in his Viſitation.*

Theſe five Articles, with ſome Difficulties, paſſed the General Aſſembly at *Perth*, 1618; which were agreed to by a Parliament convened at *Edinburgh*, 1621.

Thus the Church ſtood in *Scotland*, when the Archbiſhop *Laud* would make it conformable in all Points to that he was now eſtabliſhing in *England*. The firſt Step he moved herein, was by preferring the Biſhops in *Scotland* in almoſt all Preferments, before the Nobility; ſo that of thirteen, nine were Privy-Counſellors, and *Spotſwood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, was Chancellor, and others were of the *Exchequer*; and *Maxwell*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, contended with the Earl of *Traquair* to be Lord-Treaſurer; and were Sticklers to have Tithes, and Impropriations, and the Abbots Lands to be reſtored to the Church; and the Weekly Meetings of the Miniſters are termed Conventicles by the Biſhops. Tho' the Doctrine of the Church of *Scotland* were *Calviniſm*, yet all Countenance and Encouragement by the Biſhops, were given to the Profeſſors of the *Arminian* Tenets:

A.D. 1637 So that the Brawls and Contentions about them were as high in the Univerſity of St. *Andrews*, as in *Cambridge* and *Oxford*.

Common Prayer *impoſed on the* Scots. There had not been one General Aſſembly ſince that of *Perth*, 1618, when in 1637, the Common Prayer, Canons, and High Commiſſion were impoſed by the King's and Biſhops Authority; and beſides the High-Commiſſion, the Biſhops had Warrants from the King, to grant Commiſſions in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, to name Aſſeſſors, Miniſters and Gentlemen, which might puniſh Offenders. And tho' the *Common-Prayer*, *mutatis mutandis*, was the ſame with the *Engliſh*, yet in the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament, the Form was the ſame in the *Maſs*, without the Exhortations in the *Engliſh* Common-Prayer.

The firſt Trial, how paſſable they would be, was upon *Eaſter*-Day, the Service was read at *Edinburgh*, when no Tumult followed; but when it was next read, the 23d of *July* following, all the City was in an Uproar, and the next Day the Lords of the Council iſſued out a Proclamation to diſcharge the Tumults of the People upon pain of Death; yet divers Miniſters at *Edinburgh* oppoſed the reading of the *Common-Prayer*, and petitioned the Council againſt it.

Harveſt coming on, all things ſeemed quiet, but at the end of it *Edinburgh* ſwelled with all ſorts of People: The Council fearing whereto this Concourſe would tend, by three Proclamations commanded all ſorts of People (not Inhabitants, or not having Buſineſs) to depart upon Penalty of Horning and Rebellion: Inſtead of Obedience, the Women and Children petition the Council againſt the *Common-Prayer-Book*, and ſoon after the Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters, Burgeſſes and Commons; which were ſent to the King, who commanded the Privy-Council to ſignify his Majeſty's Averſneſs to Popery and Superſtition. In this Confuſion the Earl of *Traquair*, Treaſurer, and *Roxborough* Privy-Seal, go to the King for Inſtructions how to proceed; their Inſtructions were to remove the Seſſion or Term to *Sterling*, and by Proclamation to forbid all Perſons coming to *Sterling*, unleſs they declare the Cauſe to the Council, and procure a Warrant for the ſame upon Penalty of High-Treaſon. This

This Proclamation was encountred by a Proteſtation of Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters and Burghers at *Edinburgh*, againſt the *Roman* Idolatry and Superſtition, the *Common-Prayer-Book*, Canons, and High Commiſſion: and they enter into a ſolemn Covenant to maintain the Confeſſion of Faith, ſubſcribed by the King's Father and his Houſhold, 1580, and after by all Ranks of People, 1581, to which they ſwear a mutual Defence of one another againſt all Oppoſers; and to this purpoſe they erected Tables or Perſons to take Subſcriptions of all ſorts of People. *A. Reg.* 14. *Ill Effects of it.*

Traquair could not ſtem the Tide, and ſo acquainted the King herewith, who ſends the Marquiſs *Hamilton* his Commiſſioner, with Inſtructions one way or other to compoſe theſe Diſorders. When he came into *Scotland*, he firſt demanded of the Covenanters what they required of the King for accommodating their Grievances. Secondly, What might be expected from them for returning to their former Obedience, eſpecially renouncing their Covenant. But nothing would content them but a General Aſſembly and free Parliament: They forbid him the uſe of the *Common-Prayer* in the King's Chapel, and admoniſh him and the Council to ſubſcribe their Covenant. Theſe Proceedings running ſo high, the Marquiſs durſt not purſue his Inſtructions, being ſure they would be affronted.

The Marquiſs gives the King an account of theſe Things, and deſires further Inſtructions, *which were to gain time till the King could get a Fleet and an Army in readineſs to compel the Covenanters to Obedience, but not to conſent to the calling of a Parliament or General Aſſembly till the Covenant be given up; that now his Crown and Reputation for ever lies at ſtake; that he had rather ſuffer the firſt, which Time would help, than the laſt, which is irreparable; that the Explanation of the damnable Covenant makes him to have no more Power than a Duke of* Venice, *which he will rather die than ſubmit to*: Yet without dying he did ſubmit to the Revocation of the Service-Book, Canons, High-Commiſſion, and the Articles of *Perth*, forſakes the Biſhops, and by a Proclamation, *Sept.* 22, 1638, commands the Covenant to

A.D.1639 be ſubſcribed by the Privy-Council and all his *Scotiſh* Subjects; but this would not content the Covenanters, becauſe it came not from a General Aſſembly, and becauſe the Band of mutual Defence was not in the Proclamation.

Having gone thus far, there was no going back, and the King's Army and Navy were not yet ready, the King therefore indicts a General Aſſembly to be held the 21ſt of *November*, 1638, at *Glaſcow*, and a Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh* the 15th of *May* following.

The General Aſſembly met accordingly, but the Marquiſs and the Aſſembly were at Variance about the Elections and Votes of the Lay-Elders, and the Biſhops ſitting in the Aſſembly, and the Votes of the King's Aſſeſſors in it: But what the Marquiſs would have, the Covenanters would not, whereupon the Marquiſs on the 28th diſſolves the Aſſembly upon Penalty of High-Treaſon.

The Covenanters and General Aſſembly proteſt againſt this Diſſolution, and ſit notwithſtanding, yet profeſs all Duty and Obedience to the King in its due Line and Courſe, which in plain *Engliſh* is, *They'll do what they will; and if the King will do what they would have him, they will be obedient Subjects*: And in this Seſſion they depoſe and excommunicate all the Biſhops of *Scotland*. To this State within leſs than two Years, has his Grace of *Canterbury* brought the Church of *Scotland*, and a terrible Cloud hangs over that of *England*, whereby his Grace will have the Glory of becoming a *Martyr* in it.

Weſton, Earl of *Portland*, died in the Year 1634, and Dr. *Juxton*, Biſhop of *London*, was made Lord Treaſurer, by whoſe prudent Management it's ſaid, that in leſs than five Years he had lodged 900000 *l.* in the *Exchequer*; and now the King had raiſed an Army of about 20000 Horſe and Foot, made the Earl of *Arundel* General, Lord Viſcount *Wentworth* Lieutenant-General, and Earl of *Holland* General of the Horſe; and had fitted up a Navy, with 5000 Land-Men, commanded by Marquiſs *Hamilton*, to compel the *Scots* to their Obedience, and marches at the Head of this Army himſelf.

It

It was time, for the *Scots* were up in Arms too, had ſeized the *Regalia* at *Dalkeith*, and brought them to *Edinburgh*, taken *Dumbarton*, and routed the *Scots* who took the King's part at *Aberdeen*, which they likewiſe took. *A. Reg.* 16.

The King's good Nature never more appeared than in his Neceſſities; ſo that when he came to *York*, by Proclamation he recall'd 31 Monopolies and Patents formerly granted by him, he not before underſtanding how grievous they were to his Subjects.

The *Scots*, that the *Engliſh* might have no Jealouſy of an Invaſion, had reſolved not to come within ten Miles of the Borders with their Army. When the King came to *Berwick*, the Earl of *Holland* made two vain and inconſiderate Incurſions into *Scotland*, and upon the Approach of the *Scots* retreated; and theſe were the only Actions of this War by the *Engliſh*.

Upon the Retreat of the Earl, the *Scots* propoſe a Treaty of Accommodation, which the King's Neceſſities compell'd him to ſubmit to, which being made, the King disbands his Army, and withdraws his Navy; this was all the *Scots* cared for; for the Treaty being upon equivocal Terms, the *Scots* were reſolved to make their own Interpretation, and ſtand by it, and to that purpoſe hold Coreſpondence with the *French* King, and ſtile him *Au Roy*, and alſo with the diſcontented in *England*, and buy Arms and Ammunition at *Bremen* and *Hamburgh*. To foment theſe Jealouſies, and propagate the Popiſh Intereſt, Cardinal *Richlieu* employs one *Chamboy*, or *Chamberlain* in *Scotland*, and *Con*, or *Cunæus*, his own Chaplain in *England*, whoſe chief Confidents were the Earl of *Arundel*, General of the King's Army, and his Counteſs, Sir *Francis Windebank* Principal Secretary of State, Sir *Toby Matthews*, *Endymion Porter*, *Engliſh*, and one *Read* and *Maxwell*, *Scots*.

This Year my Lord-Keeper *Coventry* died, and Sir *John Finch*, Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, was made Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, no doubt for promoting the Legality of *Ship-Money*, and enlarging the Bounds of the Foreſts.

*A.D.*1640 The Cloud riſing ſo thick in the *North*, preſaged a Storm, which to diſſipate, the King ſummons a Parliament to meet the 22d of *April*, 1640, the Archbiſhop and the Earl of *Strafford* giving out, according to the Advice which Sir *Robert Cotton* gave the Duke of *Buckingham*, that they were the firſt Movers of it. The King lays before them his Neceſſities for Money in the firſt Place, and that Delay was all one with a Denial, and communicates to them the *Covenanters* Letter to the *French* King, imploring his Aſſiſtance: But the Houſe of Commons having long ſince found the Effects of giving Money before Grievances were redreſs'd, began at Grievances, now multiplied by the Additions of *Ship-Money*, breaking the Bounds of the Foreſts, and Monopolies multiplied without end, the Arbitrary Power of the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commiſſion* againſt thoſe who oppoſed the Proceedings of the Innovations brought into the Church, and the Impriſonment and unheard of Cenſures of their Members for their Proceedings in the Houſe laſt Parliament; ſo that inſtead of enjoying any Benefit by the *Petition of Right*, the Church and State was in a manifold worſe State than before: They had now found by Experience, that no Laws or Judgments in Parliament could bind the King's Prerogative, but that he would act quite contrary, as in the Caſes of *Montague* and *Manwaring*, &c. and how could the Parliament rely upon his *Royal Word* (which he would upon all Occaſions give) when they found no Aſſurance in any Law, nor ſo many Declarations of his obſerving them?

A Parliament meets.

However, the Commons, upon the 2d of *May*, reſolved to take care of ſupplying the King upon the 4th, when Sir *Henry Vane* told them, That the King, of his Grace and Favour, upon their granting 12 Subſidies to be paid in three Years, would forbear levying *Ship-Money*, and aboliſh it; and for their Grievances, they ſhould rely upon his Royal Promiſe, and give as much Time now as may be, and after at *Michaelmas* next; and that the King expected a poſitive Anſwer.

Hereupon the Houſe was turned into a grand Committee, and ſpent the whole Day upon the Meſſage, but

but came to no Reſolution, and deſired *Vane* to acquaint the King, that the Houſe would next day proceed upon the King's Supply: But next Morning early, Secretary *Windebank* (in actual Correſpondence and Conſpiracy with *Cunæus*, *Richlieu*'s Chaplain, for ſubverting our Religion, and introducing Popery) commanded the Speaker to *Whitehall*; the ſame day the King diſſolved the Parliament, and the next, the Lord *Brook*'s Study, Cabinet, and Pockets were ſearched for Papers, and Mr. *Bellaſis* and Sir *John Hotham* were convened before the Council, to anſwer concerning Paſſages in Parliament; and giving no ſatisfactory Anſwer, were committed Priſoners to the *Fleet*, and Mr. *Crew* was committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*, and no Cauſe ſhewed in either of theſe Warrants. *A. Reg.* 16. *Suddenly diſſolved.*

The greateſt Objection againſt Hereditary Monarchy is, that Princes Ears are always open to Minions, Flatterers, and Sycophants, whereby they rarely underſtand the State of their own Affairs, or of their Subjects: To attemper this, the Wiſdom of our Conſtitution ordains, That Parliaments be frequently held, to repreſent to the King the State of the Nation, and ſo to inform him of Grievances, that they may be redreſſed. And ſo inviolably has this mutual Correſpondence between the King and Parliament been obſerved in all Ages, that I do not believe any King or Queen of *England*, and of the *Engliſh* Race ſince *Henry* III. ever diſſolved one Parliament in Diſpleaſure, before King *James*; whereas of eight Parliaments, theſe two Kings, of the *Scotiſh* Race, diſſolved ſeven in Diſpleaſure. Yet never did Parliaments, in any Reign, demean themſelves more chearfully to any King than to theſe two: and I challenge any one to ſhew, that in any one reſpect they intrenched upon any juſt Prerogative of either of theſe Kings, or did any Act not warranted by former Precedents.

It's true, Queen *Elizabeth* would not endure to have the Parliament to meddle with the State of the Church as 'twas eſtabliſhed, nor hear of declaring a Succeſſor; and when either of theſe were moved contrary to her expreſs Order, ſhe would commit

*A.D.*1640 the Members, but eaſily diſmiſs them; otherwiſe, I believe in no Age any Member of Parliament was ever committed or cenſured by any King of *England* before King *James*, for debating or reaſoning of the State of the Nation or Church.

Reflections upon it. In the 20th of *Edward* III. *John* of *Gaunt*, the King's Son, the Lords *Latimer* and *Nevil*, were accuſed in Parliament for miſadviſing the King, and were ſent to the *Tower* for it; and *Henry* IV. *Rot. Parl.* 5. upon the Complaint of the Commons againſt four of his Servants and Counſellors, that they might be removed, declared openly, That tho' he knew nothing againſt them in particular, yet he was aſſured, that what the Lords and Commons required of him, was for the Good of himſelf and Kingdom; and therefore he baniſhed them, and at the ſame time declared he would do ſo by any other who ſhould be near his Royal Perſon, if they were ſo unhappy as to fall under the Hatred of his People.

Whereas this King, tho' the Duke of *Buckingham* was accuſed of more Crimes in Parliament, than is recorded of *Pierce Gaveſton*, and the *Spencers* in *Edw.* the IId's time, and of the Duke of *Ireland*, *Treſilian*, and *Belknap*, in *Rich.* the IId's time, and of the Death of this King's Father to boot; yet rather than the Duke ſhall be brought to Trial, the King diſſolves the ſecond Parliament of his Reign: And in his Declaration for diſſolving the three Parliaments, calls the queſtioning his Miniſters an Invaſion upon his Prerogative, and that through them they endeavoured to wound their Sovereign's Honour and Government.

Since the Statute *De Tallagio non Concedendo*, in the Reign of *Edward* the Iſt, I think no mention has been made that ever any King of *England* taxed the Subject before this King and his Father, except *Edward* the IVth by Benevolence, for which his Memory is bitterly ſtained in the Parliament-Roll of the ſecond Chapter of *Richard* the IIId; tho' it be not in the printed Statutes; and by a *Loan* demanded in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth by Cardinal *Wolſey*, the raiſing of which had near raiſed a Rebellion; which

when

when it came to the King's Ear, he laid the Blame upon the Cardinal, and ſaid, he would not rend his Subjects from the Law, and forbid further proceeding in it. *A.Reg.* 16.

Archbiſhop *Abbot* excepts againſt his Licenſing *Sybthorp's* Sermons, for that the King's taxing Loans by his own Authority, was neither by the Laws nor Cuſtoms of *England*: the King in his Anſwer ſays, He *did not ſtand upon the Laws and Cuſtoms of* England, *for he had a Precedent for it, and would inſiſt upon it.* The Archbiſhop replied, *He thought it was a Miſtake, and feared there was no ſuch Precedent; and that* Henry *the VIIIth deſired but the ſixth part of Mens Eſtates, but the King required the full ſix Parts, ſo much as the Men are ſet at in the Subſidy-Book.* And when the Commons in the third Year of his Reign made a Remonſtrance againſt the King's taking Tunnage and Poundage, not granted by Parliament, the King calls this a detracting from their Soveraign, and commands all who have or ſhall have any Copies of it, to burn them upon Pain of his Indignation and high Diſpleaſure.

The King for Cauſes of diſſolving this Parliament, (the laſt he ſhall ever diſſolve) begins with the uſual Stile, That he well knows, that the Calling, Adjourning, Proroguing and Diſſolving Parliaments are undoubted Prerogatives inſeparably annexed to his Imperial Crown; of which he is not bound to give any Account, but to God alone, no more than of his other Regal Actions. But *quid gloriaris*? Did ever any King of *England* ſay this before his Father and himſelf? Or in what common Law, or Acts of Parliament is this to be found? Or if he had ſuch Power, Why does the King ſo often boaſt of it? Sure it had been better done by another than himſelf. Is this a time of day, when this Prince had loſt all his Honour abroad, to magnify himſelf that he has Power to diſſolve Parliaments at Home, and thereby obſtruct thoſe Ways by which he might unite himſelf to his Subjects, and then glory that he is only accountable to God for all his Actions? *Nebuchadnezzar's* Boaſt, *Is not this the* Babel *which I have built*? was but a Bauble to this. He ſaid

this

A.D.1640 this but once, *and God ſent him ſeven Years among wild Beaſts; and he ſaw his Pride, and he repented:* This King upon all Occaſions makes his Boaſts; but I do not find he ever repented of any of them.

But admit the King had this Power, and alſo that the Opening, Adjourning and Proroguing Terms, and granting Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and times of their Sitting and Continuance for executing Juſtice, be Prerogatives inſeparable to the Imperial Crown, of which he is accountable to God only: Yet if he ſhall not open the *Terms*, or grant Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; or if he does refuſe to have Juſtice done between himſelf and Subjects, or between his Subjects, but inſtead thereof prorogue or adjourn *Terms*, and withcall his Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and declare, to him only belongs the Power of opening the Terms, and of granting Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and that he is only accountable to God for all his Actions; would not this be a Failure of Juſtice? and can any Man believe that he would be God's Vicegerent herein for the Good and Benefit of his Subjects?

The Act of the 25th of *Edward* the IIId determines what Treaſons are cogniſable by the King's Judges, but the other Treaſons at Common Law are only determinable in Parliament, and, one of the chiefeſt Ends in calling Parliaments; is when the Judges themſelves, or Miniſters of State becoming corrupt, and too great for the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, they may be puniſhed in Parliament: it is therefore greater Injuſtice, and infinitely more dangerous to the King and Subjects, to deny the Nation this Right, than to deny Juſtice to particular Subjects.

The King is Head of the Common-wealth, and the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation unite them into one Body; which if they ceaſe, there is neither King nor Common-wealth; and by the 4 *Edw.* 3. *c.* 4. Parliaments ſhall be holden every Year; and by 36 *Edw.* 3. *c.* 10. Parliaments ſhall be holden once a Year, and oftner, if need be, that Grievances and Miſchiefs be redreſs'd: How then does it become the King to glory, that the Calling, Adjourning, Pro-

Proroguing and Diſſolving Parliaments are undoubted Prerogatives, inſeparably annexed to the Imperial Crown? which in plain *Engliſh* is to ſay, *It is a Prerogative inſeparable to the Imperial Crown, to rend himſelf from his Subjects, and to make himſelf neither King, nor the Nation his Subjects.* *A. Reg.* 16.

But if the King be accountable only to God for his Actions, how comes it that he ſo often appeals to the People by theſe Declarations againſt their Repreſentatives, or rather againſt the People and their Repreſentatives, to his own Minions and Flatterers; which are worſe than any other Rebels and Traitors? for theſe appear barefac'd what they are, whereas thoſe ſteal away the Love and Obedience of his Subjects, and provoke them either to be Rebels and Traitors, or careleſs to aſſiſt him againſt ſuch as are: And this was the Caſe of *Edward* the IId and *Richard* the IId; and now it comes faſt upon this unhappy King, for ſo hereafter he will ever be.

In *September* this Year the *Dutch* fell upon a Fleet of the *Spaniards* in the *Downs* ſo furiouſly, as, being fifty three in Number, made them cut their Cables, and run twenty three of them on Shoar, whereof three were burnt, two periſhed on the Shoar; the Remainder of the other twenty three were deſerted by the *Spaniards*, and mann'd by the *Engliſh* to ſave them from the *Dutch*, the other thirty put to Sea, of which only ten eſcaped: Yet the King, however he gloried in being ſtiled *Sovereign of the* Britiſh *Seas*, took no Care to vindicate this againſt the *Dutch*, to whom he was now become as contemptible as to his *Scotiſh* Subjects.

After the Pacification between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, yet full of Jealouſy on either Part, the King ſent for fourteen of the principal Covenanters to come to him at *Berwick*, which the *Scots* refuſed, and only ſent *Montroſs*, *Lowden*, and *Lowthian*; theſe three Lords ſeemed much mollified by what the King had granted, and promiſed all Obedience to the King.

The King urged *Hamilton* to be his Commiſſioner, which he refuſing, he made *Traquair*, but tied him up to cloſe Inſtructions, and in *Auguſt* he indicts a Gene-

A.D. 1640 General Aſſembly: the Biſhops proteſt againſt it; and the Covenanters ſupplicate the Commiſſioners and Council, that Epiſcopacy be declared unlawful, and the Covenant ſubſcribed by all the *Scotiſh* Nation; which the Commiſſioners verbally conſented to.

The Covenanters make the *Kirk* a diſtinct Table or Body from the Civil, of which *Chriſt Jeſus* is the only Head; and that the Parliament is obliged to paſs all the Acts of a General Aſſembly: ſo that though by many Acts of Parliament, the Biſhops Sitting and Voting in Parliament is ordained and confirmed; yet the voting Epiſcopacy to be unlawful, hath reſcinded all thoſe Acts of Parliament: for *Sublata Cauſa, tollitur & effectus.*

Scotch *Parliament meets.* Upon the 30th of *October* in 1639, the Parliament met; but upon the Difference between the Houſes and the Earl of *Traquair*, about naming Lords of the Articles, the Earl prorogues them to the 14th of *November*, which the Parliament proteſt againſt, and declare all Proceedings in Parliament to be as valid, as if no Prorogation had been. The Parliament hereupon appoint a Committee to repreſent this to the King, and make the Earl of *Dumfermling* and the Lord *Lowden* their Deputies to do it, who coming without Warrant from the Earl of *Traquair*, were commanded back again without Audience.

Then the King commands the Commiſſioner *Traquair* to prorogue the Parliament to the ſecond of *June* in 1640, and that he ſhould come and give an account of the Matters propoſed in Parliament. *Traquair* having got one of the Letters the Covenanters had ſent to the *French* King, ſubſcribed by *Rothes*, *Montroſs*, *Leſley*, *Montgomery*, *Lowden* and *Foreſter*, brings this with him, for which the *Scots* would never forgive him.

This yet being unknown to the Covenanters, they ſent the Earl of *Dumfermling* and *Lowden* again to the King, who claps *Lowden* cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, and expected that this Confederacy between the *Scots* and *French*, would be a means to procure the Parliament to aſſiſt him more powerfully againſt the *Scots*: but the King having diſſolved the Parliament,

ment, he as ſuddenly diſmiſt him as before he had committed him, which did the King no good. *A. Reg.* 16.

This unhappy King would as eaſily be excited to give harſh Language, as be put upon ſudden Actions, and as ſoon leave them, and often proceed quite contrary: And now he taxes the *Scots* Proceedings to be Traiterous and Rebellious, and cauſes a Paper publiſhed by the *Scots* after the Pacification, to be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman; but the *Scots* inſiſted their Proceedings to be according to the Covenant, which they could not ſtart from, and that therein they were the King's moſt dutiful Subjects.

Things could not long ſtay here, but upon the 20th of *Auguſt* in 1640, the *Scots* enter *England* with an Army of about 22000 Men, commanded by General *Leſley*, to deliver a Petition for Reformation of Religion and State, and to juſtify their Proceedings, and begin as the King did at the opening of all his Parliaments, with the Neceſſity of their Proceedings. The King the ſame day the *Scots* entred *England*, poſts to *York*, having made the Earl of *Northumberland* General of his Army, the Earl of *Straſford* Lieutenant-General, and my Lord Marſhal, the Earl of *Arundel*, General of his Forces on the South-ſide of *Trent*. His firſt Care was to ſtop the *Scots* from paſſing the River *Tine*, and commanded the Lord *Conway* and Sir *Jacob Aſtly* to oppoſe them; but the *Scots* having the Advantage of the Ground, and ſixfold more in number than the *Engliſh*, force their Paſſage at *Newborn*, about five Miles from *Newcaſtle* to the *Weſt*, and take *Newcaſtle*, and after *Durham*, and tax the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Durham* at 850 *l.* a day, over and above the Rents of the *Papiſts* and the Church of *Durham*. *Scots invade England.*

The King, inſtead of fighting the *Scots*, is encountred with Complaints from the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire*, *Durham*, and *Northumberland*, of the Miſeries of their Condition; then with Petitions from many of the Nobility, the City of *London*, and other Places, for a free Parliament: upon this the King aſſembles a great Council of the Nobility, who adviſe a Truce, which is accepted, and all agreed, but how *King at York.* *A Truce made.*

*A.D.*1640 how to pay the Armies till a Parliament meet, was a Queſtion: the *Scots* coming for all the *Engliſh* Mens Gudes, demand but 40000 *l. per Menſem*, but, like their Country Pedlars, fall to 25000 *l.* which is agreed; which, with the Charge of the *Engliſh* Army, would amount to 60000 *l. per Menſem*, to ſave the Country from Free-quarter.

In this Treaty the King named the Earl of *Traquair* to be Aſſiſtant to the *Engliſh* Peers; but the *Scots* excepted againſt him as an Incendiary, and one to be brought to Puniſhment; the King ſubmits, and leaves him out. But how to provide Money to pay both Armies till the meeting of the Parliament, which was to meet the third of *November*, is the Queſtion: The King had not Credit, it could not be had but from the City of *London*, which was upon ill Terms with the King; for Alderman *Atkins*, Sir *Nicholas Ranton*, and Alderman *Geere*, were by Order of the Council, in Priſons in *London*, and the Attorney General had Orders to draw an Information againſt them in the Star-Chamber, for refuſing to return the Names of ſuch as were able to lend upon a Loan of 200000 *l.* demanded by the King.

The Lords therefore of the Great Council write to the City of *London*, ſignifying the King's gracious Reſolution of calling a Parliament, wherein he promiſed all Grievances to be redreſt, the Miſeries of the Country, if the Armies were not paid; and not leſs than 200000 *l.* could prevent them, and the Lords would give their Bonds for the City's Security; whereupon the City lent the Money, and then the Treaty was adjourned from *Rippon* to *London*. But that we may better ſee how things ſtood at the opening of the Parliament, let us look back a little.

Engliſh Convocation ſits after the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

After the King had diſſolved the Parliament, *May* the 5th. he left the Convocation ſitting, who frame an Oath, wherein they ſwear never to conſent to alter the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Arch-deacons, *&c.* as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by Right it ought to ſtand (which was interpreted to be *Jure Divino*). They alſo made ſixteen Canons, and *Goodman* Biſhop

of

of *Gloceſter*, for refuſing to ſubſcribe the Oath and Canons, was ſuſpended: *Being encouraged by* Montague, *Biſhop of* Norwich, *and* Laud's *Creature, who*, Goodman *ſaid, had in his Perſon viſited, and held Correſpondence with the Pope's Nuncio, and received his Letters in behalf of his Son, who was then travelling to* Rome, *and by his Letters had extraordinary Entertainment there.* *A. Reg.* 16.

Nor did the Convocation ſtay here, but granted the King a Benevolence of ſix Subſidies to be paid in ſix Years, the Refuſers to be ſuſpended and excommunicated: To ſuch an Extremity did the Clergy puſh Things in this techy and diſorderly Time. But any Man may eaſily gueſs the Spring which ſet all theſe Wheels in Motion. And it is obſervable, that the Clergy, who now taxed their Fellow Subjects without Conſent of the Commons, ſhall ever hereafter be taxed by the Commons, without the Conſent of the Clergy.

CHAP. III.

A Continuation of this Reign to the Death of the King.

UPon the third of *November* the Parliament met, and the Nation, which for above fifteen Years had been ridden by a more than *French* Government, now look upon the Parliament (I mean the Houſes) to become their Redeemers; and by how much more Honour the Nation gives them, ſo much leſs they leave to the King. The firſt that forſook the King and run beyond Sea, was *Canterbury*'s old Friend, Secretary *Windebank*; next after him flies *Finch*, and after the Earl of *Arundel*; and ſcarce one of his old Favourites, I mean before the *Scots* Troubles, ſtood by him, except my Lord *Cottington*: Secretary *Cooke* was either really or politickly ſick; *Juxton*, Biſhop of *London*, indifferent, and in all the Wars lived in the *New Parliament meets.*

A.D.1640 the Parliament Quarters, but all the reſt ſided with the Parliament againſt him: Only *Laud* and *Straſford* are laid in Priſon, and after put to Death.

Nor were the Factions leſs pliable to entertain theſe Minions; all thoſe who would not join them were called *Delinquents*; and upon a Debate in the Houſe of Commons, concerning an Order in the *Star-Chamber*, ſigned by my Lord Privy-Seal, Secretary *Cooke*, and others, it was moved to ſend for Secretary *Cooke* as a Delinquent: Another Member (my neareſt Relation, from whom I had this) moved, That ſince Sir *John Cooke* was aged and infirm, and above a hundred Miles off, and my Lord Privy-Seal in Town, therefore that the Houſe ſhould proceed againſt my Lord: To whom Mr. *Pym* reply'd, *That whatever my Lord's* ante Acta Vitæ *were, yet ſince he now went right, that all ought to be forgotten.*

Nay, ſo zealous were theſe new converted Minions and Favourites, that rather than forſake their Seats in Parliament, they'll loſe their Places at Court. You have heard how my Lord Privy-Seal became Lord Chief-Juſtice, after which the King made him Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord Privy-Seal, and Preſident of the Council. He ſets up the Court of *Requeſts* to have a concurring Juriſdiction with the *Chancery*; and Men whom my Lord *Coventry* did not pleaſe, brought their Cauſes thither; ſo that in a ſhort Time the Practice of this Court ſwell'd ſo much, that he made more Clerks and Attorneys than ever was known before.

King *Charles* ſent to the Biſhop of *Ely*, that he would have *Hatton-Houſe* in *Holborn* for Prince *Charles's* Court, and that the King would be at the Charges for maintaining the Biſhop's Title, tho' the Biſhop told me it coſt him many a Pound: So in the Biſhop's Name a Suit was commenced in the Court of *Requeſts* for it. Before the new Buildings were built, *Hatton-Garden* was the fineſt and greateſt in or about *London*, and my Lady *Hatton* had planted it with the beſt Fruit, Vines and Flowers which could be got; but upon commencing this Suit ſhe deſtroy'd all the Plantations, yet defended her Cauſe with all Oppoſition imaginable: But at laſt in

in 1639, notice was given to my Lady to hear Judg- *A.Reg.16.*
ment; and at the Day ſhe appear'd in Court, when my Lord Privy-Seal demanded of my Lady's Counſel, *If they had any more to ſay, otherwiſe, upon his Honour, he muſt decree againſt my Lady.* Hereupon my Lady ſtood up and ſaid, *Good my Lord, be tender of your Honour, for 'tis very young; and for your Decree I value it not a Ruſh, for your Court is no Court of Record.* And the Troubles in *Scotland* growing higher, the King had no Benefit of the Decree, nor my Lord any Credit in his Court ever after.

Nor were the Deſcendants of many of the King's Favourites more faithful to the King than their Fathers, as the Lord *Kimbolton*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *John Cooke*, *Henry Martin*, &c.

Now when it was too late, like a Man who begins his Buſineſs the laſt Day of the Term, the King ſeems to alter his Countenance, and indulge another ſort of Men in Church and State, who were oppoſite to the Principles in Biſhop *Laud*'s Regency. Dr. *Williams* cenſured and impriſoned in the *Tower*, has all the Proceedings againſt him in the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion* revers'd, and taken off the File; and *Montague*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, dying in the beginning of the Parliament, Dr. *Hall* is tranſlated from *Exeter* to *Norwich*, and Dr. *Brownrig*, a moſt learned and zealous *Anti-Arminian*, is made Biſhop of *Exeter*, &c. my Lord Chamberlain *Pembroke* is removed, and the Earl of *Eſſex* put in his Place; Sir *Robert Holborn* made Attorney-General, and *Oliver St. John* Solicitor, both which were Mr. *Hampden*'s Counſel againſt the Legality of Ship-Money. *King alters his Meaſures.*

But neither theſe Actions, nor the King's repeated Royal Word, could gain Credit with the Parliament, who tho' at another Time they would have dreaded a ſtanding Army, now reſolve to maintain two, till their Grievances were redreſt: And ſure now it was a lamentable State the King was reduc'd to; he that before, rather than hear of what he had done, did not care what he did, and therefore diſſolved four Parliaments, now every Day hears of what he had done, yet cannot help it. His Judges, which before had refuſed to bail his Subjects committed by the

1641 King without Cauſe, are themſelves now committed againſt the King's Pleaſure, and no Bail to be taken for them: The King's Cuſtomers, who by the King's Order ſeized and ſold the Merchants Goods for Non-payment of Duties not legally impoſed, are themſelves ſeized, and fined more than they are worth.

Makes the Parliament as it were perpetual.

Herein the King was only paſſive, but the Houſes would not ſtay here; but tho' the Commons at firſt impeached the Earl of *Strafford* before the Lords in their Judicial Capacity, wherein the King's Conſent was not actually neceſſary, yet they after proceeded againſt him by Bill, wherein the Attainder muſt be actually aſſented to by the King, perſonally, or by Commiſſion, which the King did, my Lord Privy Seal and the Earl of *Arundel* being Commiſſioners; and the ſame Day paſſed an Act, *That the Parliament ſhould not be Prorogued, Adjourned, nor Diſſolved without their own Conſent*; which proved as great a Grievance as the King's proroguing and diſſolving them at Pleaſure. And the paſſing theſe Laws ſo frightned my Lord-Treaſurer *Juxton*, the Maſter of the Court of Wards, and the Governor of the Prince, that they all reſign'd their Places.

Paſſes Acts to redreſs Grievances.

Beſides theſe, the King paſſed an Act for a Triennial Parliament to meet, if not by uſual means, then by others, whether the King would or not. And an Act for the utter aboliſhing the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commiſſion* Courts: And to make it a *Præmunire* in every one of the Privy-Council to determine any Cauſes cogniſable at Common Law: An Act to aboliſh the Court of the Council and Preſident of the North; and an Act to reſcind the Juriſdiction of the Court of Stanneries: An Act to repeal the Branch of a Statute made the firſt of *Eliz. cap.* 1. to authorize Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, natural born Subjects of *England*, to reform Errors, Hereſies, Schiſms, &c. An Act for declaring Ship-Money, and all Proceedings therein void: An Act for aſcertaining the Bounds and Limits of the Foreſts, as they were in the 20th Year of King *James*: And an Act to prevent the vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood. Theſe Acts, thus paſſed, the Houſes thought themſelves

themſelves ſecure enough, and ſo paid off and disban- *A. Reg.* 17.
ded the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Armies, and ſent the *Scots* into their Country again.

The much greater part of the Gentry, and alſo of the Members of both Houſes, would have been content to have ſtaid here; and many believed if the Parliament had met at *York* or *Oxford*, they would; but this could not be without diſguſting the City of *London*, from which only the Loan of 200000 *l.* could be raiſed for Payment of the Armies, till Proviſion could be made by Parliament.

But it was decreed that Things ſhould not reſt here; and that the Faction in the Houſe of Commons might get a Majority at one Vote, they voted all thoſe who had been inſtrumental in Monopolies, or in Ship-Money, or Collectors of the Cuſtoms, out of the Houſe, and others to be choſen in their Places: And the Rabble in the City in Tumults exclaim'd againſt the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords Votes; hereupon the Biſhops enter their Proteſtations againſt all Proceedings till they might ſit and vote freely, whereupon they are committed to the *Tower*, and a Law was paſſed to diſable the whole Hierarchy for the future to have any Place in Parliament.

As the *Scots* began their Reformation with a *Covenant*, ſo the *Commons* began theirs with a *Proteſtation*; wherein they Promiſe, Vow and Proteſt, in the Preſence of God, to *maintain the true Proteſtant Religion expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, and, according to their Duty and Allegiance, to maintain and defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Eſtate, the Power and Privilege of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subjects, and to preſerve the Union and Peace between the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but herein was the Difference between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*; the *Scots* would improve their *Covenant*, and eſtabliſh it in *England*, but the *Engliſh* ſcarce ever after care for their *Proteſtation*. *Lords and Commons take the Proteſtation.*

The Commons prevail with the Lords to take it, and then impoſe it upon the Nation, upon the Penalty of being deemed Malignants and Diſaffected.

The King, little pleaſed with what he had done, and leſs with what the Houſes had done without

A.D. 1641 him, follows the *Scots* into *Scotland*, and there ca-
joles the *Covenanters* with all Courtſhip imaginable;
King goes to Scotland. makes *Leſley*, the *Scots* General, Earl of *Leven*, and confers other Honours upon the *Covenanters*; calls a Parliament, and conſents to the Extirpation of the Hierarchy, and eſtabliſhes *Presbytery* as fully as the *Kirk of* Scotland could deſire: The *Scots* at preſent promiſe all Duty and Obedience to him, but how well the King found it, in a ſhort Time will appear.

Iriſh Maſſacre. Whilſt the King was thus buſied in *Scotland*, a horrible and helliſh Maſſacre was perpetrated in *Ireland* by the *Iriſh* upon the *Engliſh*, wherein it's computed above 200000 Proteſtants, Men, Women and Children, were butcher'd; after which followed an univerſal Rebellion, excepting in *Dublin*, *London-derry*, and *Inniskillen*, which was headed by the Pope's *Nuncio*, a moſt proper Head for ſuch a Body: Yet ſo intent were the Factions in *England* and *Scotland* in eſtabliſhing their Deſigns, that little care was had of the miſerable Relicks of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*.

It appears evident to me, that *Richlieu*'s Scarlet was deep dy'd in the Blood of the poor *Engliſh* in this Maſſacre, for theſe Reaſons.

1. That the *Scots*, who at this Time were Penſioners to *France*, were not meddled with in their Lives and Fortunes, as you may ſee in Sir *Richard Baker*, f. 315. a, b.

2. The King being in *Scotland* when he heard of the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh*, and Rebellion of the *Iriſh*, he moved the Parliament of *Scotland*, then ſitting, for a ſpeedy Relief to the *Engliſh*, which they refuſ'd. And it's ſtrangely obſervable, That tho' the Maſſacre and Rebellion in *Ireland* brake out the 23d of *October*, yet the King did not proclaim them Rebels till the firſt of *January*, and then by Proclamation gave a ſtrict Command, that no more than forty of them ſhould be printed, and that none of them ſhould be publiſhed, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure was further ſignified.

Upon the King's going into *Scotland*, the Parliament prorogued themſelves to a certain Day; But the Commons appointed a Committee to prepare Buſineſs againſt their next Meeting, yet ſend Spies to obſerve

obſerve all the King's Actions; and after the King's Return to *London*, which was upon the 25th of *November* 1641, the *Houſe of Commons* upon the 5th of *December* make a Remonſtrance of all the King's Miſcarriages Abroad, and of the Grievances and Illegalities of his Miniſters at Home, from the beginning of his Reign; and that the King might be ſure to ſee it as well as hear of it, they *print* and *publiſh it*. *A. Reg.* 17

The King not being uſed to ſuch *Language*, was ſtung to the quick by the *Commons* Declaration; and to retaliate it in Act, upon the third of *January*, enters the *Houſe of Commons*, and demands five of their Members to be tried for *High Treaſon*, for holding Correſpondence with the *Scots*: Than which he could not have done a more imprudent Act; for by it he unravelled all that he had done in *Scotland*, by involving the *Scots* in the ſame *Crime*. But the Members had their Agents in the King's moſt ſecret Councils, and had notice of the King's coming before, and ſo the five Members were withdrawn. This Act of the King did not only ſet the Houſe in a Flame, and put the City into Tumults, but brought *Petitions* from *Buckinghamſhire*, that the Privileges of Parliament might be ſecured, and Delinquents brought to condign Puniſhment. All this while poor *Ireland* lay bleeding. *King after his Return enters the Houſe of Commons.* *Ill Effects of it.*

The King, as unſtable in his Reſolutions as inconſiderate in his Actions, retracts all he had done, and promiſes not to do ſo again: But to no purpoſe, for the Members reſolve not to truſt his Royal Word, Prerogative, and abſolute Will and Pleaſure, and therefore will tear the Power of the Militia from him. Rather than ſuffer this, tho' upon the Pretence of Tumults, the King reſolves to leave *London*.

But before the King left *London*, my Lord Mayor, Sir *Richard Gurney*, Sir *George Whitmore*, Sir *Henry Garoway*, and other principal Citizens, waited upon the King, and engaged, if he would ſtay, they would guard him with 10000 Men, if occaſion were; and told him, If he went, he would leave the City open for the Members to do as they pleaſed, and that they were ſure to be firſt undone; the King told

A. D. 1642 told them he was reſolved: Then Sir *Henry Garoway* ſaid, *Sir, I ſhall never ſee you again.* However, his Eldeſt Son, Mr. *William Garoway* (a worthy Gentleman, who yet lives) went with the King, and followed him in all his Wars.

The worthy Citizens proved true Prophets; for ſoon after the King left *London*, the Members impriſoned my Lord Mayor, Sir *Henry Garoway*, Sir *George Whitmore*, and all others whom they ſuſpected would be faithful to the King; and then in *London* began to aſſume the Power of the *Militia*.

King goes to York. After the King left *London*, he went to *York*, and from thence went towards *Hull*, but is ſhut out of the Town by Sir *John Hotham*, whom the King proclaims Traitor; and now before it came to Sword and Piſtol, Men began a War with their Pens: And herein it is obſervable, that the Writers for the King chiefly maintained his Cauſe out of Sir *Edward Coke*'s *Pleas of the Crown*, which by Order of the King's Council, was upon Sir *Edward*'s Death-Bed, ſeized as dangerous and ſeditious; and I do not find any who wrote for the Parliament, ever uſed any one *Topick* out of it to juſtify their Cauſe; tho' it, and Sir *Edward*'s other Books of the Comment upon *Magna Charta*, and *Juriſdiction of Courts*, were printed by Order of the Houſe of Commons, and by them petitioned that the King would deliver the Originals to Sir *Robert Coke*, Sir *Edward*'s Heir.

Whilſt things were in this Hurly-burly in *England*, *Portugal* and *Catalonia* revolt from the *Spaniard*; which, as it was a mighty Blow to *Spain*, ſo it much conduced to the advancing the Deſigns of Cardinal *Richlieu* in *France*.

Things could not hold long at this Stay, but upon the 22d of *Auguſt* the King comes to *Nottingham*, and haſtily ſets up his Standard there, and invites all his loving Subjects to come to his Aſſiſtance againſt the Rebels. Never was Nation ſhuffled into ſuch unhappy Circumſtances; for to join the King, was to return to his *Prerogative Royal*, and *Abſolute Will and Pleaſure*; and I have oft heard ſeveral of thoſe who followed the King in the War, ſay, *They as much dreaded the King's overcoming the Parliament, as they feared to be over-*

come

come by them: And the Houſes had broken the Fundamental Conſtitution of the Nation, ſo as no Man could tell where they would ſtay. *A. Reg.* 18.

Now are things brought to that paſs *Richlieu* deſigned them, *viz. England* and *Ireland* in Civil Wars, and *Scotland* Penſioners to *France*, ſo as he might now ſecurely carry on his Deſigns of advancing the Grandeur of *France*, without any Fear of Diſturbance from hence. Yet it is obſervable, how great the Loyalty of the Nobility and Gentry was to the King, that from ſo low Beginnings, in all Appearance they would have ſubdued the Parliament-party, if the *Scots* next Year had not come to their Aſſiſtance; whereas in the Reigns of *Edward* the IId and *Richard* the IId, though the Grievances of the Nation were more in one Year of this King's Reign, than in both their Reigns, yet both were expelled and loſt their Lives, their Subjects not drawing a Sword in their Defence.

An Apology.

BEfore we enter upon the War between the King and Parliament, it will not be amiſs to enquire into the Cauſes of it, and who firſt began it; and whether the King, or Parliament, or both, deſign'd it; and I am the rather induced hereto, becauſe I am told, that I have unjuſtly charged the Parliament with beginning the War; and that the contrary appears by a Treatiſe written by *Tho. May* Eſq; *of the Cauſes and Beginning of the Civil Wars in* England: So that the Queſtion between us is not who firſt deſigned the War, but who began it. But becauſe Deſignations and Intentions precede Action, I will begin, ſo far as appears to me, Whether the King or Parliament firſt deſigned this War, or whether it were not intended by both. And give me leave to ſhew a little of Mr. *May*'s Partiality in the Buſineſs.

I ſay Mr. *May* is partial, where, *Page* 13, he ſays, after the Pacification made with the *Scots* 1639, that when the King came to *London*, his Heart was again eſtranged from the *Scots*, and Thoughts of Peace;

A. 1642 he commanded by Proclamation that Paper which the *Scots* avowed to contain the true Conditions of the Pacification, to be disavowed and burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman: *So that he makes the* Scots, *Parties and Judges in their own Caſe, without mentioning the Articles of the Pacification, or what the* Scots *avowed to contain the true Conditions of it.* We will therefore ſet forth the Articles of the Pacification, and let another judge whether the *Scots* obſerved them, or had any Thoughts of Peace. The Articles were,

1. *The Forces of* Scotland *to be disbanded within twenty four Hours after the Agreement.*

2. *The King's Caſtles, Ammunition,* &c. *to be delivered up.*

3. *His Ships to depart after the Delivery of the Caſtles.*

4. *All Perſons, Ships and Goods, detained by the King, to be reſtored.*

5. *No Meetings, Treaties or Conſultations to be by the* Scots, *but ſuch as ſhall be warranted by Act of Parliament.*

6. *All Fortifications to deſiſt, and be remitted to the King's Pleaſure.*

7. *To reſtore to every Man their Liberties, Lands, Houſes, Goods, and Means.*

The Articles were ſigned by the *Scots* Commiſſioners, and a preſent Performance of them, on their Parts, promiſed and expected.

The King juſtly performed the Articles on his part: but the *Scots* kept part of their Forces in being, and all their Officers in pay; and the Covenanters kept up their Fortifications at *Leith*, and their Meetings and Councils, and inforce Subſcriptions to the late Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, contrary to the King's Declaration; they brand thoſe who had taken Arms for the King, as Incendiaries and Traitors, and null all the Acts of the College of Juſtice, as you may read in Mr. *Whitlock's Memoirs, f.* 29. So that tho' the King performed all the Articles of Pacification on his Part, the *Scots* performed not one on their Part. Nor did the *Scots* ſtay here, but publiſhed a Paper very

very ſeditious againſt the Treaty, which is that which Mr. *May* ſpeaks of: I do not find the Copy of it; but even Mr. *Whitlock* (no great Friend to the King's Cauſe) calls it ſo. Nor did the *Scots* ſtay here, but levied Taxes at ten Marks *per Cent.* and made Proviſion for Arms, as you may read in Sir *Richard Baker*'s Hiſtory, *f.* 408. and more at large in the ſecond part of *Ruſhworth*'s Collections; and all this before the King commanded the *Scots* Paper to be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman: And therefore the King juſtly commanded the *Scots* Paper to be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman. *A. Reg.* 18.

And Mr. *May* ſays, *The honeſt People of both Nations began to fear another War.*

But why does Mr. *May* ſay, the honeſt People began to fear another War? Was it honeſt in the *Scots* to break all the Articles of the Pacification, to keep their Forces in a Body, and their Officers in Pay contrary to the Pacification; to raiſe Taxes, and make Proviſion of Arms; and after all, theſe honeſt Men to begin to fear another War?

Mr. *May* goes on, and ſays, *The King, in* December *told the Council, he intended to call a Parliament in* England *in* April *following: But rational Men did not like it that it was deferred ſo long; and that the Preparations for a War in* Scotland *went on in the mean time.*

The laſt part is *gratis dictum* by Mr. *May*, nor does he mention any Preparation for a War, in any one Particular; nor do I find this ſaid by any other: But admit the King had made Preparation for a War with *Scotland*, yet by all Laws of God and Man, the King might juſtly have done it, after the *Scots* had broken all the Articles of *Pacification*, kept an Army on foot againſt it, levied Taxes by their own Authority, and made Proviſion of Arms without the King's Authority, which beſides the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Scots*, is Treaſon in the higheſt degree: And I would be glad to be informed by what other means the King could vindicate his Honour, or relieve his oppreſſed Subjects, otherwiſe than by a War?

Mr.

A.D.1642 Mr. *May* goes on, and ſays, *They* (theſe rational Men) *were likewiſe troubled, that the Earl of* Strafford, *Deputy of* Ireland, *a Man of deep Policy but ſuſpected Honeſty, one whom the King then uſed as a Boſom Counſellor, was firſt to go into* Ireland, *and call a Parliament in that Kingdom.*

And what then? Why might not the King call a Parliament in *Ireland*, as well as in *England* or *Scotland*? And if theſe rational Men did not like it (as he ſays) that a Parliament ſhould be deferred ſo long in *England*, why ſhould theſe rational Men be ſo troubled that the King ſhould call a Parliament in *Ireland*? Nor does Mr. *May* give any Reaſon why they ſhould be ſo troubled.

Beſides, Mr. *May* ſays, *The King, at that time, had broken up the Parliament in* Scotland, *which the Scots complained of* (the Buſineſs of State depending) *as a great Breach of their Liberties, and againſt the Laws of that Kingdom.*

So here again, Mr. *May* makes the *Scots*, Parties and Judges in their own Cauſe, and is not ingenious in thus charging the King at random, and not ſhewing what Buſineſs of State was then depending: It's fit therefore to ſhew what Buſineſs of State was then depending, before Mr. *May*'s rational Men ſhould be ſo troubled at the King's breaking up the Parliament.

The *Scots* having, as before ſaid, violated all the Articles of Pacification on their part, and perſecuted the Loyal *Scots*, expreſly contrary to the Pacification, as Incendiaries and Traitors, levied Taxes, provided Ammunition of War, and kept an Army on foot: The Parliament, over and above theſe, formed theſe Demands to be made to the King.

1. That *Coin be not meddled with, but by Advice in Parliament.*

2. That *no Stranger be to command or inhabit in any Caſtles of the King's, but by their Advice.*

3. That *no Honour be granted to any Stranger, but ſuch as have a Competency of Land-Rent in* Scotland.

4. *No Commiſſioner or Lieutenancy but for a limited time. And next, they proteſt againſt the Precedency of the Lord Trea-*

Treaſurer and Lord Privy Seal, as not warranted by any poſitive Law. See *Baker*, 408. A.Reg.18.

Theſe were the Buſineſſes of State which Mr. *May* ſpeaks of; which added to what the *Scots* uſurped before, I would know what Regality would be left for the King, and a Reaſon why Mr. *May's* rational Men ſhould be ſo troubled for the King's diſſolving the Parliament.

Mr. *May* drives on, and ſays, Upon which they ſent ſome Lords into *England*, to intreat the King for a Redreſs of ſuch Injuries as they had received ſince the Pacification; which were, that the Parliament was broken up before any Buſineſs done. *If they made it their Buſineſs to diveſt the King, as they did, of his Rightful Regalities, the King had reaſon therefore to break them up.*

That *Edinburgh* Caſtle was garriſon'd with far more Soldiers than was needful. *So here the* Scots *are Parties and Judges in their own Cauſe; and you need not doubt, but that ſo many Soldiers as ſhall be able to defend the Caſtle, ſhall be judged by the* Scots *to be more than is needful.*

That *Dunbritton* Caſtle was garriſon'd by *Engliſh* Soldiers. *And why might not the King do it? for the* Engliſh *as well as* Scots *were his Subjects. But I dare ſay, if theſe had been the honeſt rational* Engliſh-men *May ſpeaks of, neither he nor the* Scots *would ever have complain'd of it.*

That the *Scots* which traded to *England* and *Ireland* (ſure they mean Pedlars prohibited by Law) were enforced to take new Oaths, contrary to their Covenant, and altogether contrary to the Articles of Pacification: *Whereas their Covenant is a new Oath contrary to their Allegiance: And if there were any ſuch new Oaths, why do neither the* Scots *nor Mr.* May *name them? or if any ſuch were impoſed, that was ſo far from being altogether contrary to the Articles of Pacification, that I ſay they were not contrary to any one Article of the Pacification; unleſs the* Scots *or Mr.* May *could make new Articles of Pacification, and other than thoſe before mentioned.*

The King, Mr. *May* ſays, impriſon'd thoſe Lords, ſending one of them, the Earl of *Lowden*, to the Tower, and commanded a Charge of High-Treaſon to be drawn againſt him, concerning a Letter which the

A.D.1642 the *Scotiſh* Covenanters had written to the King of *France* (French *King had been as well*) for his Aſſiſtance, and *Lowden* had ſubſcribed it: But the Accuſation was frivolous, eaſily anſwered, and came to nothing, becauſe theſe Letters were not ſent at all; and beſides, it was before the Pacification, upon which an Oblivion of all things was agreed.

So here are two impertinent and frivolous Anſwers to excuſe a moſt treaſonable and rebellious Conſpiracy, to bring in a foreign Power into Scotland; *for it was ſubſcribed by* Rothes, Montroſs, Leſley, Marre, Montgomery, Lowden, *and* Forreſter, *under the Title of* Au Roy, *our King, to* Lewis 13. *The firſt is, That thoſe Letters were not ſent at all, becauſe they were intercepted by the Earl of* Traquair, *the King's Commiſſioner in* Scotland. *If* Mr. May *had not been a Chriſtian, yet the very Heathen, by the Light of human Nature, could have informed him, that,*

——Scelus intra ſe tacitum qui cogitat ullum,
Facti Crimen habet.——

And if Conſpiracies of Rebellion and Treaſon againſt Princes ſhall be eſteemed frivolous, unleſs they evade into Actions, Princes and States too would be in a very unſecure State, and all Counſel and Endeavours to prevent them would be vain and frivolous; and I ſay, here was a double Overt-Act in this Conſpiracy, one the Conſpirators Meeting, the other the ſubſcribing the Paper.

The other Anſwer, That the Pacification was after the Subſcription, and ſo there was an Oblivion upon it: But the Pacification was reciprocal between the King and Scots; *and if the* Scots *firſt broke the Pacification, as they did, let them take all that followed; and therefore the King had no Reaſon to perform his Part, nor the* Scots *to complain, if the King had hanged and quartered* Lowden.

The War, Mr. May ſays, p. 16. *went on, the Earl of* Strafford *commanding in Chief, the Earl of* Northumberland *not being in Health, who was appointed General.* But if Mr. *May* had been ingenuous and impartial, he ſhould have told on which Side the War began, which he does not; but only ſays, *the* Scots *had not been backward, for having been debarred of their Trade, and*

loſt

loſt their Ships by Seizure, they entred England *with an Army, expreſſing their Intentions in Writing to the* Engliſh, *and bringing with them a Petition to the King.* A. Reg. 18.

Admit all this to be true, the *Scots* ſhould firſt have repreſented this to the King, and what was their Loſs by being debarred of their Trade, and the Value of their Ships ſo ſeized; and upon Denial to have granted Letters of Reprizal till they had recovered Satisfaction: but of this Mr. *May* ſays not one Word, nor do I find or believe, the *Scots* ever did demand Satisfaction before they entred *England* in open Hoſtility, and in Defiance of the King and *Engliſh* Nation; and for the Manner of bringing their Petition to the King, it was without Precedent, or ſuch as never was done by any other People; for they entred *England*, and maintained their Army by Plunder and Rapine upon the *Engliſh*; and when *Leſley* came to *Newborn* upon *Tine*, he craves leave of my Lord *Conway*, ordered by the King to guard the Paſs there, to paſs with his Petition to the King, which my Lord *Conway* granted, with a conſiderable Number, but not with his Army. Hereupon *Leſley*, who had the Night before planted nine Pieces of Cannon on *Northumberland* ſide, by force of them paſſed the *Tine*, and kill'd and took three hundred *Engliſh* Priſoners, and after took *Newcaſtle*, and ſeized four great Ships of the *Engliſh*, laden with Corn, and impoſed a Tax of three hundred and fifty Pounds a Day upon the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and three hundred Pounds a Day upon the County of *Northumberland*, upon pain of Plundering; and the *Scots* committed many Injuries and Inſolencies upon the *Engliſh* where the *Scots* quartered; as you may read in Mr. *Whitlock*'s Memoirs, *fol.* 34, 35.

Thus was the State of Things alter'd. Mr. *May* ſays, pag. 34. it ſhould be pag. 18. *And that War which was intended for an Enſlavement of both the Nations* (truly ſaid, but untruly intended) *became the Bond of Concord between them.* God defend the Nation for time to come, of ſuch Concord, or ſuch Cauſes of it.

The Parliament, Mr. *May* ſays, *began with Matters of Religion: divers Miniſters who had been of good Lives and Converſations, conſcientious in their ways, and diligent in their*

A.D.1642 *their Preaching, and had, by the Biſhops and thoſe in Authority, been moleſted and impriſoned, for not conforming to ſome Ceremonies which were impoſed on them, were now by the Parliament relieved and recompenſed for their Suffering: and others who had been ſcandalous, either for looſe wicked living, or elſe Offenders in way of Superſtition (both which, to diſcountenance the Puritans had been frequently preferred) were cenſured and removed.* Here Mr. *May* is right, but yet partial, in that he does not tell how that the Orthodox Clergy, as the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Williams*, Dr. *Hall* of *Norwich*, Dr. *Prideaux* of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Brownrig* of *Exeter*, Dr. *Morton* of *Durham*, &c. and all the Orthodox Anti-Arminian Heads of both Univerſities, and alſo Dr. *Saunderſon*, Dr. *Featly*, and many others, underwent the ſame Fate with thoſe Miniſters which Mr. *May* ſpeaks of.

Pag. 38. which ſhould have been 24. Mr. *May* ſays, *That the Parliament ordered that the* Scots *ſhould be recompenſed for all their Charges and Loſs by that miſchievous War which the King had raiſed againſt them.* Here Mr. *May* is not only partial and unſincere, but the contrary hereof is true; for the *Scots* in the former War took up Arms and ſeized the *Regalia* at *Sterling*, took Towns in *Scotland*, and other ways committed Acts of Hoſtility before the King raiſed Arms to ſuppreſs them, as is before; and ſo they did in this latter, raiſe Arms in *Scotland* before they invaded *England*, before the King raiſed any Army. [*See* Whitlock's Mem. *fol.* 276.] Where Mr. *May* had this, unleſs framed by himſelf, I cannot tell; but Sir *Richard Baker* recites the Demand at large, and the Commons Anſwer to them. And this Mr. *May* ſpeaks of, is the ſixth Demand, *Wherein they deſire, from the Juſtice and Kindneſs of the Kingdom of* England, *Reparations concerning the Loſſes which the Kingdom of* Scotland *hath ſuſtained, and the vaſt Charges they have been put unto, by occaſion of the late Troubles.* To which the Commons anſwer,

That the Houſe thinks fit, that a Friendly Aſſiſtance and Relief ſhall be given towards the Supply of the Loſs of the *Scots*; and that the Parliament did declare, that they did conceive that the Sum of 300000*l.* is a fit Proportion for their Friendly Aſſiſtance

ſtance and Relief, formerly thought fit to be given towards the Supply of the Loſs and Neceſſities of their Brethren of *Scotland*; and that the Houſes would in due time take into Conſideration the Manner how, and when the ſame ſhall be raiſed. *Now let any Man ſhew out of Mr.* May, *where that miſchievous War, which the King had raiſed againſt them, is to be found.* If Mr. *May* had been a faithful Hiſtorian, he ſhould have made Truth, and not the Diſtempers of a diſtracted Time, nor the Clamours of his prejudic'd Brain, to have been the Meaſures of his Story. *A. Reg.* 18.

He ſhould have ſet forth, how like Pedlars they treated the *Engliſh* in their Particulars, in their eighth Demand of 514128 *l.*— 9 *s.* beſides the Loſs of their Nation to 440000 *l.* Yet they did not give in that Account with an Intent to demand a total Reparation of all their Charges and Loſſes, but were content (good Men) in ſome meaſure to bear a Remnant.

Mr. *May* ſhould have ſet forth, how perfidiouſly the *Scots* dealt with the *Engliſh* Nation, when in their Remonſtrance, at their firſt coming in, they profeſſed, that they would take nothing of the *Engliſh*, but for Money or Security; whereas they plundered and taxed *Northumberland*, *Newcaſtle*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; ſo that thoſe Places could not recover their Loſſes in twenty Years, as Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* in open Parliament charged them: and that the *Engliſh* formerly eſtabliſhed the *Scots* Reformation at their own bare Charges; whereas the *Scots* preſumed to require a greater Sum than was ever given the King. Which you may read more at large in Sir *Rich. Baker*, fol. 417.

Theſe are the Parliament's Brethren, for whoſe Brotherly Aſſiſtance they voted 300000 *l.* towards a Supply of the Loſſes and Neceſſities (note that) of our Brethren of *Scotland*, and that the Parliament would in due time take into Conſideration, the Manner of raiſing, and Days of Payment, *and in the mean time, leave* Newcaſtle, Northumberland, *and* Durham, *a Prey to theſe devouring* Scots. But lame-footed Vengeance ſhall overtake this Fraternity, and that by no viſible Power at preſent, but what ſhall

ariſe

*A.D.*1642 ariſe from among themſelves. I could add many more Particulars of Mr. *May*'s Partiality and Inſincerity; but this already ſaid is ſufficient: And now it's time to enquire whether the King or Parliament, or both, deſigned the enſuing War, and who firſt deſigned it; tho' the Diſtemper of the Times was ſo diſtracted and variable, that it's hard to judge of Intentions by Actions.

The Royaliſts excuſe the King from any Intention of a Civil War in *England*, in that he had protected no Man from the Juſtice of the Parliament, and that he had put away all thoſe which the Parliament called Evil Counſellors, both in Church and State, having made Mr. *St. John* his Attorney, and Mr. *Holborn* his Solicitor, both which were his Antagoniſts in impoſing Ship-Money; and upon his going into *Scotland*, made the Earl of *Eſſex* Chamberlain, and General of his Forces on this ſide *Trent*; and in the Church reverſed all the Proceedings in the *Star-Chamber* againſt the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and preferred Dr. *Hall* from *Exeter* to the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*, and made Dr. *Brownrig* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Dr. *Prideaux* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who were the moſt Learned of the Church of *England*, and moſt oppoſite to the Arminian Tenets, and of moſt exemplary Life and Piety; and before his going into *Scotland*, paſſed all Bills preſented to him by the Houſes, even that of not diſſolving the Parliament without their Conſent; which he would never have done, if he had had any Intention of raiſing a War againſt them, or a Civil War in *England*.

An Account of the Deſign to ingage the Army againſt the Parliament.

Mr. *May* tells us of a twofold Treaſon againſt the Parliament, and that the King was knowing of both; one was to have deliver'd the Earl of *Strafford* out of the *Tower*, but Sir *William Balfour* the Lieutenant would not conſent to it: Here note, *The King made* Balfour, *a* Scot, *Lieutenant of the* Tower, *one of the greateſt Places of Truſt in* England, *without any Complaint of the Parliament; whenas the Parliament of* Scotland, *in their ſecond Demand made to the King, would have no Stranger to command or inhabit in any Caſtles of the King's without their Conſent.*

The

The other part of this Treaſon, chief of all the reſt, (*But why all, when but two?*) Mr. *May* ſays, was a Deſign to bring up the *Engliſh* Army, which was in the North, and not yet disbanded; this Army they had dealt with to engage againſt the Parliament's ſitting, and (as they alledge) to maintain the King's Prerogative, Epiſcopacy, and other Things againſt the Parliament it ſelf. *A. Reg.* 18.

This Charge is ſo falſe, as well as partial, as no Man who had any regard to Truth, Honeſty, or Fairneſs, would have ſo expos'd himſelf; for if the King's Prerogative be not maintain'd, he can neither govern his Subjects nor protect them from Foreign Enemies, and Epiſcopacy is one of the Conſtitutions of the Nation; and how the maintaining theſe can be againſt the Parliament, had need of a wiſer Head than Mr. *May*'s to ſhew: But theſe two are not all Mr. *May* ſays, but there were other Things againſt the Parliament, (if there had been other Things, I do not think Mr. *May* would in Modeſty have conceal'd them); but ſince Mr. *May* has not given the Cauſes of this chief Treaſon, I will do it, and not follow *Baker*, nor *Franklin*, leſt they ſhould be deem'd to be partial to the King's Cauſe, but Mr. *Whitlock*, whom no Man believes to be ſo, who ſays,

June 19*th*, *It was voted that the* Scots *ſhould receive* 100000 l. *of the* 300000 l. *The* Scots *by a Paper pretended Neceſſity for* 125000 l. *in preſent; the Parliament took off* 10000 l. *of* 50000 l. *which they had appointed for the* Engliſh *Army, and order'd it for the* Scots.

The Lord *Piercy*, Commiſſary *Wilmot*, and *Aſhburnham* (Members of Parliament) ſitting together, and murmuring at it, *Wilmot* ſtept up and ſaid, *That if ſuch Papers of the* Scots *could procure Monies, he doubted not but the Officers of the* Engliſh *Army would ſoon do the like*; and this cauſed the *Engliſh* Army to ſay, *The Parliament had diſoblized them.*

The Officers put themſelves into a Junto of ſworn Secrecy, and drew up ſome Heads, by way of Petition, to the King and Parliament, *for Money for the Army, and not to disband before the* Scots; to preſerve the Biſhops Votes and Functions, and to ſettle the King's Revenue.

*A.D.*1642 The Army tainted from hence, met and drew up a Letter or Petition, which was ſhewed to the King, approv'd and ſign'd by him with *C. R.* and a Direction to Captain *Leg*, that none ſhould ſee it but Sir *Jacob Aſhley*; the main drift was, *That the Army might be call'd up to attend the Safety of the King's Perſon, and Parliament's Security; or that both Armies might be diſbanded.* Where is this chief Treaſon lodg'd, unleſs in Mr. *May*'s Brain? Or, where is the King's Prerogative mention'd? But as the Times then went, *May* took Liberty to ſay what he liſt to humour them, the *Scots* muſt be obey'd in whatſoever they demand, and it muſt be chief Treaſon in the *Engliſh* to petition.

Mr. *May* will have the King's going into *Scotland* to be a Deſign to raiſe War againſt the Parliament of *England*, and to that end, tells a Story of a *Scots* Writer, that publiſhed, that it was to engage the *Scots* againſt the Parliament of *England*, with large Promiſes of Spoil, and offering Jewels of great Value for Performance of it; but he names not the *Scot*, and leaves it uncertain for the Reader to judge by what fell out afterward: But if the King did, it was a matter of great Falſhood (Mr. *May* ſays) having as yet declar'd no Enmity againſt the *Engliſh* Parliament: From the ſame Author, he ſays, it was to make ſure of thoſe Noblemen of that Kingdom he doubted of, as not willing to ſerve his turn againſt *England*; and true it is, that about *September* Letters came to the ſtanding Committee at *Weſtminſter*, that a Treaſonable Plot was diſcovered there againſt the greateſt Peers of the Kingdom (but ſays not which Kingdom) upon which the ſtanding Committee, fearing ſome Miſchief from the ſame Spring, placed ſtrong Guards in divers Places of the City of *London*. *But in all this the Fox is the Finder, and Mr.* May *as partial and falſe as in all he ſaid before.*

The Truth was, Jealouſies and Fears were fomented by the Parliamentarians, and even by the Members themſelves, againſt the King and Royaliſts: But Mr. *Whitlock*, tho' of like Affection with Mr. *May*, yet a much more impartial Repreſenter of the Actions of thoſe Times, repreſents it thus:

The Marquiſſes of Hamilton *and* Argyle *withdrew from the Parliament in* Scotland, *upon Jealouſy of ſome Deſign againſt*

againſt their Perſons; but upon Examination of that matter by the Parliament there, it was found to be a Miſinformation, yet the ſame took fire in our Parliament, upon the Surmiſes of ſome; whereupon the Parliament here appointed Guards for London *and* Weſtminſter, *and ſome ſpake not without Reflection upon the King.* *A.Reg.* 18.

The Royaliſts charge the Parliament, at leaſt the Commons, with a Deſign to raiſe War againſt the King, and to make him odious to the People, after he had granted all the Parliament deſired of him, and given up thoſe whom they call'd evil Counſellors, to their Juſtice, for their Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom after the King's return out of *Scotland:* which becauſe of the Extraordinarineſs of it, we will recite it *verbatim*, as is ſaid by Mr. *Whitlock*. *Commons Remonſtrance of Miſgovernment.*

The Houſe of Commons prepared a Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, wherein they mentioned All *the Miſtakes, Misfortunes, Illegalities and Defaults in Government ſince the King's coming to the Crown, the evil Counſels and Counſellors, and a malignant Party; that they have no hopes of ſettling the Diſtractions of this Kingdom for want of a Concurrence with the Lords.*

This Remonſtrance was ſomewhat roughly penn'd, both for the Matter and Expreſſions in it, and met with great Oppoſition in the Houſe, inſomuch as the Debate of it laſted from three in the Afternoon till ten next Morning; and the ſitting up all Night, cauſed many of the Members, through Weakneſs or Wearineſs, to leave the Houſe, and Sir *B.R.* (I think he means Sir *Benj. Rudyard*) to compare it to *the Verdict of a ſtarv'd Jury*. When the Vote was carried, tho' not by many, to paſs the Remonſtrance, Mr. *Palmer*, and two or three more, made their Proteſtation againſt this Remonſtrance, for which they were ſent to the *Tower*. This Remonſtrance was preſently printed and publiſhed by the Parliament, contrary to the King's Deſire, and before his Anſwer made to it, which came forth ſhortly after to all the Heads of it.

Now let any ſhew a Precedent, when one State in Parliament appealed to the People, and arraigned the King, and the other two States, unheard, and againſt the King's expreſs Deſire, and he ſhall be my great *Apollo*. And if the End be firſt conſider'd *Remarks upon it.*

A. D. 1642 in every Action, what could be the End of publiſhing this Remonſtrance? Or how could it tend to the ſettling the Diſtractions of the Kingdom? I make this difference between *Reproof* and *Reproach*; *Reproof* is privately to admoniſh another of ſuch Speeches and Actions as tend to the hurt of his Reputation and Fortune, ſo as this other may avoid them for the future; *Reproach* is to divulge the Speeches and Actions of another, to the leſſening of the Fame and Credit of that other: *Reproof* is the Act of a Friend, *Reproach* of an Enemy. And was this a Time of Day for the Commons thus to reproach the King for his paſt Actions, after he had redreſſed all their Grievances, and given up his Evil Counſellors to their Juſtice? Or, was it ever known before, that when the King had redreſs'd Grievances, they ſhould be after ripp'd up to reproach him?

The firſt Effect of this Remonſtrance, Mr. *Whitlock* mentions, is, That during this Time, and taking the Opportunity from theſe Differences between the King and Parliament, divers of the City of the meaner ſort came in great Numbers and Tumults to *White-Hall*, where, with many unſeemly and inſolent Words and Actions, they incenſed the King, and went from thence in like Poſture to *Weſtminſter*, behaving themſelves with extream Rudeneſs towards ſome of the Members of both Houſes; and tho' the King ſent to the Lord-Mayor to call a Common-Council to prevent theſe riotous Aſſemblies, yet I do not find the Commons took any Care herein; and how theſe Actions of the Commons tended to ſettle the Diſtractions of the Nation, or the Relief of *Ireland*, let any impartial Man judge. But of all this Mr. *May* takes no notice, yet does of the Parliament's petitioning the King for a Guard for the Security of their Perſons, being informed of a Plot contrived againſt them, (ſuch another as that of *Scotland*) and the Earl of *Eſſex* to command it, which, tho' the King denied, he promiſed to take care for their Safety.

Since Mr. *May* had no better Luck with his *Scotiſh* Plot, he'll be ſure of one now, by the King's entring into the Houſe of Commons attended by 300 Gentlemen, and ſeated in the Speaker's Chair, and demanded

manded five Members, *viz.* Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Stroud*, to a fair Trial, and would be as careful of their Privileges as ever any King of *England* was. But in regard Mr. *May* is ſo ſhort and partial in this, we'll ſtate the Caſe as reported by Mr. *Whitlock*: *A. Reg.* 18.

The King being informed that ſome Members of Parliament had private Meeting and Correſpondence with the Scots, *and countenanced the late Tumults from the City, he gave a Warrant to repair to their Lodgings, and to ſeal up the Trunks, Studies and Chambers of the Lord* Kimbolton, *Mr.* Pym, *Mr.* Hambden, *Mr.* Hollis, *Sir* Arthur Haſlerig, *and Mr.* Stroud, *which was done, but their Perſons were not met with.*

The King cauſed then Articles of high Treaſon, and other Miſdemeanours againſt thoſe five Members, to be exhibited.

1. *For endeavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws and Government, and deprive the King of his Legal Power, and to place on Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power, by foul Aſperſions on his Majeſty and Government, to alienate the Affections of his People, and to make him odious.*

2. *To draw his Army to Diſobedience, and to ſide with them in their Traiterous Deſigns.*

3. *That they traiterouſly invited and encouraged a Foreign Power to invade* England.

4. *That they traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the very Right and Being of Parliament.*

5. *For endeavouring to compel the Parliament to join with them in their Traiterous Deſigns; and to that end have actually raiſed and countenanced Tumults againſt the King and Parliament.*

This great Breach of Parliament Privilege (Mr. *May* ſays) happened in a ſtrange Time to divert the Kingdom from relieving *Ireland: And did not the Commons Remonſtrance againſt the King and the Houſe of Lords do ſo too? And when Men, eſpecially Princes, are reproached and defamed, regular Actions are not always conſequent.*

The Cenſures of the King's Act was variouſly ſcanned by Men of different Affections: The Royaliſts ſaid, Privilege of Parliament extends not to

A.D. 1642 Treaſon, Felony, or ſo much as Breach of the Peace. And the Commons frame and publiſh a Declaration, *That there was never ſuch an unparallel'd Action of any King to the Breach of all Freedom, not only in the Accuſation of their Members, ranſacking and ſearching their Studies and Papers, and ſeeking to apprehend their Perſons; but now in a Hoſtile Way, He threatned the whole Body of the Houſe.* This was *Jan.* 5. 1641.

And after the Commons publiſhed another Vote, That *if any arreſt a Member of Parliament by Warrant from the King only, it is a Breach of Privilege; and that the coming of Papiſts and Soldiers to the Number of* 500 *armed Men* (Mr. *May* ſays but 300, and Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, with his Guard of Penſioners, and follow'd by about 200 of his Courtiers) *with the King to the Houſe, was a traiterous Deſign againſt the King and Parliament.*

They vindicate the five Members, and declare, *That a Paper iſſued out for apprehending them, was falſe, ſcandalous, and illegal,* (How could they tell before they heard both Parties?) *and they ought to attend the Service of the Houſe, and require the Names of thoſe who adviſed the King to iſſue out that Paper, and the Articles againſt the five Members:* Which if the King had done, they would have been expoſed to more Violences of the Rabble than thoſe which befel the Biſhops, and other Members of Parliament, by a great Number of Perſons which came from the City to *Weſtminſter*, where they offered many Affronts to the Biſhops and others in a tumultuous manner. But of this no notice was taken by the Commons or Lords, that I can find; ſo that as the Temper of the Times then went, it was a notorious Breach of Privilege in the King to demand five Members to anſwer Articles of High-Treaſon, but none in the Rabble in a tumultuous manner to affront and uſe Violence to the Biſhops and others who were coming to do their Duties and Service in Parliament.

Theſe Actions Mr. *May* calls, *petitioning by the Rabble, and many times to utter rude Speeches againſt ſome Lords, whom they conceived to be evil Adviſers of the King, which, however it was meant, produced ill Conſequences to the Commonwealth, and did not ſo much move the King to be ſenſible of his grieving the People, as arm him with an Excuſe*

Excuſe of leaving the Parliament and City for fear of what might enſue upon ſuch tumultuous Concourſe of Men. And why was not this a reaſonable Excuſe for the King to leave the Parliament and City, when they countenanced theſe Tumults, and the King had not Power to ſuppreſs them? A. Reg. 18.

Mr. *May* goes on, and ſays, *Upon this Ground twelve Biſhops at that time abſenting themſelves, entred a Proteſtation againſt all Laws, Votes and Orders, as* Null, *which in their Abſence ſhould paſs, by reaſon they durſt not, for fear of their Lives, come to perform their Duties in the Houſe, having been rudely menaced and aſſaulted.* And why might not the Biſhops enter ſuch Proteſtation? for if it be a Maxim in all Aſſemblies, that *Plus valet contemptus unius, quam conſenſus omnium*, then does the Contempt and Affront of a whole Order of Men, who have a Right of Suffrage, much more render the Actions of the reſt invalid.

However, Mr. *May* goes on, and ſays, *Whereupon it was agreed by both Lords and Commons, that this Proteſtation of the Biſhops was of dangerous Conſequence, and deeply entrenched upon the Privilege and Being of Parliaments; they were therefore accuſed of High-Treaſon, apprehended, and committed Priſoners to the* Tower. And I ſay, a Time ſhall come, when in Parliament theſe Men, who run thus high againſt the Biſhops and eſtabliſhed Church of *England*, ſhall be proſecuted by a contrary Extream, and the Church by Law exalted higher than it was before.

Mr. *May* goes on, and ſays, *Thus was the Parliament daily troubled with ill Work, whereby the Relief of* Ireland *was hinder'd.* If they were thus troubled, they may thank themſelves for beginning theſe Troubles, as well by the Commons Remonſtrance againſt the King and Lords, as by their countenancing the Tumults. By this time things were ſo envenom'd, as would admit of no Lenitives, eſpecially by the Commons; and the King went from *London* to *Hampton-Court*, and ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, and adviſes them, *To digeſt into one Body all the Grievances of the Kingdom, and ſend them to him, promiſing his favourable Aſſent to thoſe Means which ſhould be found moſt effectual for Redreſs, wherein he would not only equal, but excel the*

A.D. 1642 *moſt indulgent Princes.* The Parliament thank'd him; but nothing but having the *Militia* at their Diſpoſal would ſecure their Fears and Jealouſies.

This was as new in *England* as the perpetuating the ſitting of the Parliament; and if the King ſhould grant it, it would be a total Subverſion of the Monarchy: For the Parliament being perpetual, and having the Power of the *Militia*, the Government muſt be either a Commonwealth or an Oligarchy, and the King inſignificant in it; yet have it the Parliament would, notwithſtanding other Grievances, and the deplorable State of *Ireland:* And therefore upon the 26th of *February* they tell the King plainly, *That the ſettling the Buſineſs of the Militia will admit no more Delay; and if his Majeſty ſhall ſtill refuſe to agree with his two Houſes of Parliament in that Buſineſs, and ſhall not be pleaſed upon their humble Advice to do what they deſire therein, that then for the Safety of his Majeſty, of themſelves, and the whole Kingdom, and to preſerve the Peace thereof, and to prevent future Fears and Jealouſies, they ſhall be conſtrained of themſelves, without his Majeſty, to ſettle that neceſſary Buſineſs of the Militia.*

Here 'tis obſervable, That as the King feigned a Neceſſity to raiſe Ship-money for the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general; when the whole Kingdom is in danger; the Judges gave their Opinion, That the King may by his Writ under the Broad Seal of *England*, command all his Subjects of this Kingdom to provide and furniſh ſuch Number of Ships, with Men, Victuals, and Ammunition, and for ſuch time as the King ſhall think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom from ſuch Peril and Danger; and that by Law the King may compel the doing thereof, in caſe of Refuſal and Refractorineſs; and that in ſuch Caſe the King is ſole Judge, both of the Danger, and when and how the ſame may be prevented and avoided: So now the Parliament pretending a Neceſſity for the Safety of the King and of Themſelves, and the whole Kingdom, and to preſerve the Peace thereof, will tear the Militia from him. In this State things could not ſtand long at a Stay.

Mr. *May* will have the Queen's going into *Holland* with her Daughter, and carrying with her the Crown-Jewels

Jewels of *England*, and pawning them there, where- *A. Reg.* 18.
by ſhe bought Arms for the War which enſued, that it was then deſign'd by the King againſt the Parliament: but if he had been ſincere, he ſhould have told too, as Mr. *Whitlock* does, how the Parliament took 100000 *l.* of the 400000 *l.* they voted to be raiſed for *Ireland*; and whether this was not for the War which enſued in *England*.

May recites three Votes of Parliament, 1. *That the King's Abſence ſo far remote* (being then at *York*) *from his Parliament, is not only an Obſtruction, but may be a Deſtruction to the Affairs in* Ireland. 2. *That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is; to have this not only queſtioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a Command that it ſhould not be obeyed, is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.* 3. *That they who adviſed the King to abſent himſelf from the Parliament, are Enemies to the Peace of this Kingdom, and juſtly to be ſuſpected to be Favourites of the Rebellion in* Ireland. But Mr. *May* ſhould have added, that it is not the King's Preſence in *London*, or any other Place, but his aſſenting to Bills preſented to him, which he may do by Commiſſion as well as Perſonally, that enacts them into Laws; and that the King after he went from *London*, paſſed the Bill for taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament, and that no Clergy-man ſhould exerciſe any Temporal Juriſdiction; which the King did with remorſe enough, and only to humour and appeaſe the Temporal Lords and Commons in Parliament; and the Biſhops in Parliament are one of the three States of *England*. The King moreover in his Abſence, upon a Motion by the Parliament, put Sir *John Pyron* from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and Sir *John Conniers* to ſucceed him; and refers the Conſideration of the Government, and Liturgy of the Church, wholly to the two Houſes: But nothing leſs than the King's parting with the Militia would ſatisfy the Parliament, which the King would not part from: ſo now it's left fair for indifferent Men to judge, whether the King or Parliament, or both, deſign'd the enſuing War. And to proceed to ſet forth who began it.

A.D. 1642 I have ſaid in the firſt Page of this King's Reign, That the firſt fifteen Years of it were perfectly *French*, and ſuch as were never before ſeen or heard of in the *Engliſh* Nation; this brought on a miſerable War in all the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and Deſtruction upon the King, *when it was not in the Power of thoſe which firſt raiſed the War againſt him, to ſave his Life, which they would have done.* I am told, that the laſt part of this Paragraph, is an unjuſt Charge upon the Parliament, in that they acted defenſively in this War, and that the King firſt raiſed Arms; and this by the Authority of Mr. *May*.

If I be miſtaken, I have the Authority of him who could beſt know; I mean the King at his Death, who declared, *That he never did begin the War with the two Houſes of Parliament, as all the World knows; that they began with him; it was the Militia they began upon; they confeſt that to be his, but they thought fit to have it from him: and to be ſhort, if any body will look into the Dates of thoſe Commiſſions, theirs and his, and likewiſe to the Declarations, they will ſee clearly, that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not he.*

King refuſed Entrance into Hull.

If this be not Authority ſufficient to ſhew the Parliament began the War; the firſt Scuffle between the King and Parliament, was about the Buſineſs of *Hull*, where the Parliament had committed the Charge of the Town and Magazine to Sir *John Hotham*, one of the Members of the Commons, who was ſent down thither to remove the Magazine to *London*: but the County of *York* petitioned it might ſtill remain at *Hull*, for ſecuring the *Northern* Parts, eſpecially the King reſiding there.

Hereupon the King taking a Guard of his Servants and ſome Neighbouring Gentry, upon the 23d of *April* went to *Hull*, but contrary to Expectation, found the Gates ſhut, and the Bridges drawn up, by Sir *John*, and his Entrance denied, though but with twenty Horſe; which ſo moved the King, that he proclaimed *Hotham* a Traitor, and ſends to the Parliament for Juſtice againſt him.

To this the Parliament return no Anſwer; but juſtify Sir *John Hotham*, and order that the Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace do ſuppreſs all Forces which

which ſhall be raiſed, or gather'd together againſt *Hull*, or to diſturb the Peace; nor did they ſtay here, but put the Power of the Militia in Perſons nominated by them, excluding the King in ordering any thing together with them; and authoriz'd *Hotham*, by his Warrants, to raiſe the Train'd-Bands in *Yorkſhire*, to march with their Arms into *Hull*, where he diſarm'd them, and turned them Home again. So I ſubmit this to Judgment, whether this was not raiſing Arms againſt the King, being done by Subjects, and contrary to the King's Command; and if the King did encreaſe his Guards, yet this was ſubſequent to the excluding the King from having Power in the Militia, and *Hotham*'s raiſing Arms, and diſarming the Train'd-Bands of *Yorkſhire*. *A. Reg.* 18.

May ſays, the Parliament being then intent upon ſettling the Militia by Land, took care alſo to ſeize the Navy into their Hands, and ordered the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral, to put this in Execution: but the King had choſen Sir *John Pennington* to that place inſtead of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſent a Command to the Earl of *Warwick*, to reſign the Place to him: But the Earl choſe rather to obey the Ordinance of Parliament, and with great Courage and Policy got the Fleet into his Hands, tho' many of the Captains ſtood out againſt him; but the Earl deprived them of their Commands, and poſſeſt himſelf of the Ships, taking ſhortly after another Ship called the *Lyon*, of great Import, coming out of *Holland*, and laden with Gun-powder, which proved a great Addition to his Strength. So here was a double Beginning of the War by the Parliament, both in ſeizing the Fleet, and taking the *Lyon*, and this before the King committed any Act of Hoſtility.

And for the carrying on this War, the Parliament upon the 10th of *June*, made an Order for bringing in Money and Plate, to raiſe Arms for the Cauſe, and the Publick Faith for Repayment to them which brought it in. So here the Parliament raiſed Money, as well as Forces, for carrying on the War, before the King levied any: And ſo I leave it to Judgment who firſt began the War.

Ob.

A.D.1642 Objection. *The Parliament raiſed Arms for their own Defence, and Security of the Nation.*

Anſwer. This is ſaid, but of no kin to Truth or Reaſon: for Men defend what they are poſſeſt of, and the King was poſſeſt of the Militia and Fleet, when the Parliament raviſhed both from him; nor did the King uſe either againſt the Parliament, when they invaded them. Beſides, the King, (at leaſt, as he declared) endeavoured to defend the eſtabliſhed Religion, and Laws of the Land; whereas the Parliament contended to aboliſh the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and to exalt themſelves above the Laws of the Land.

Objection 2. *That the King had ſo often violated the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation, and governed ſo Arbitrarily, that the Parliament could have no Security for the future to prevent his ſo doing again, ſo long as the King was poſſeſt of the Militia.*

Anſwer. The Caſe was not the ſame then, when the King reſolved to have no more Parliaments, as now, when the King had made this Parliament perpetual, and had paſſed the Triennial Bill, for Parliaments to meet whether he would or no: And tho' Favourites and Flatterers inſtill'd thoſe things into the King, when they were without any Fear or Apprehenſion of being queſtioned by a Parliament, yet now the Parliament had ſo ſeverely proſecuted and puniſhed ſuch Men, and being perpetual, or at leaſt to meet Three Years after every Diſſolution, none would preſume to adviſe the King in things derogatory to his Honour, and the Intereſt of the Nation. And now we proceed to the enſuing War.

The Parliament, before the King ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, *Aug.* 22, Voted, *That an Army ſhould be raiſed for the Defence of the King and Parliament; that the Earl of* Eſſex *ſhould be Captain General of the Army, and the Earl of* Bedford *General of the Horſe.*

Civil War begun.

The War began firſt between the Marquiſs of *Hartford* for the King in the *Weſt*, and the Earl of *Bedford* for the Parliament; the Earl being worſted by the Marquiſs at *Sherborn-Caſtle*. *Goring* got into *Portſmouth*,

mouth, and held it for the King, but could not hold it long, for the Country joining with Sir *John Meyrick*, forced him to ſurrender, who thereupon went into *Holland*; and my Lord *Say*, *St. Johns*, and *Weemen*, with Colonel *Whitlock*, enter *Oxford*, and keep it for the Parliament. *A. Reg.* 18.

But the Face of Affairs ſoon changed; for the King having made the Earl of *Lindſey* his General, and the Parliament the Earl of *Eſſex*; upon the 23d of *October* the Armies met, and fought at *Edge-Hill*, with uncertain Victory, which both ſides claimed; the Earl of *Lindſey* was mortally wounded, and taken Priſoner: The Right Wing of the King's Horſe, commanded by Prince *Rupert*, brake the Left Wing of Horſe of the Parliament's, which Prince *Rupert* purſued too far, tho' with great Slaughter; but the King's Left Wing of Horſe was broken by Sir *William Balfour*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and the Lord *Fielding*. *Battle at* Edge-Hill.

However the Victory was uncertain, the Succeſs was not ſo, for the King took *Banbury* Town and Caſtle, and *Oxford*; and Prince *Rupert* took my Lord *Say*'s Houſe at *Brought*, and made Excurſions near *London*: Whereupon the Parliament recalled *Eſſex* to defend themſelves.

And it was Time, for the King was marching towards *London*, having taken *Reading* and *Henley*; and at *Brentford* both Armies fought, *Eſſex* being aſſiſted by the Trained Bands and Apprentices of *London*, and the King was forced to retreat; and if *Eſſex* had followed, in all Appearance the King would have loſt his Army, not having Bullet enough to have maintained one quarter of an Hour's Fight; and towards the latter end of the Year, Prince *Rupert* ſtorms *Cirenceſter*, and puts many of my Lord *Stamford*'s Regiment to the Sword, and took 1100 Priſoners, which were uſed with great Barbarity; and Colonel *Nathaniel Fines*, in the *Weſt*, was routed by Prince *Rupert*; and in the *North*, Sir *John Hotham* was beaten by the Forces commanded by the Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Fran. Worſley*, Sir *Marm. Langdale*, and Sir *Thomas Glenham*. *Fight at* Brentford.

This

A.D. 1642 This Year there was a Treaty of Peace at *Oxford*; the Parliament's Propoſitions were, That the King ſhould disband his Army, return to the Parliament, leave Delinquents to Trial, and Papiſts to be disbanded.

Parliaments Propoſals in the Oxford *Treaty.*

That a Bill be brought in for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, *&c.* and ſuch other Bills as ſhould be preſented for Reformation; Recuſants to abjure Papacy, to remove malignant Counſellors, to ſettle the Militia as the Parliament deſired, to prefer to Offices ſuch as the Parliament ſhould name, and to take in all that were put out of Commiſſions of the Peace.

A Bill to vindicate the Lord *Kimbolton*, and five Members; to enter into Alliances for the *Palatinate*, and to grant a general Pardon, excepting to the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, *Digby*, and others.

To reſtore Parliament-Members to their Offices, and to reſtore their Loſſes.

The King propoſed,

The King's Propoſals.

That his Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forts, be reſtored; That what had been done contrary to Law and the King's Right, may be recalled: That all illegal Power claimed, or acted by Order of Parliament, be diſclaimed: And as the King will conſent to the Execution of all Laws concerning Popery and Reformation, ſo he deſires a Bill for preſerving the Common-Prayer againſt Sectaries; that all Perſons excepted againſt by this Treaty, may be tried *per Pares*, with a Ceſſation of Arms, and a free Trade.

Treaty breaks off.

This Treaty began *March* 4, 1642. and broke off *April* 15. following, *viz.* 1643. But this is obſervable in this fickle King, that four Days before the Treaty broke off, the King ſaid, he was fully ſatisfied, and promiſed to give the Parliament-Commiſſioners his Anſwer in Writing, according to their Deſires; but becauſe it was paſt Midnight, he would have it drawn up in Writing, and give it them in the Morning; but inſtead thereof, the King gave them a Paper quite contrary to what was concluded the Night before.

The Treaty of Peace thus broke off, both ſides proceed in War. The Queen this Year, about the beginning

beginning of *May*, landed at *Scarborough* in *Yorkſhire*, from *Holland*, having avoided a Squadron of Men of War deſigned by the Parliament to intercept her, and brought abundance of Arms, and about 3000 Soldiers, and was proclaimed Traitor by the Parliament, and after joined with the King and his Army at *Edg-Hill* in *Warwickſhire*. And if the Parliament proſpered ſo ill laſt Year, they ſucceeded worſe this; for the Earl of *Northampton* enters *Litchfield*, and drives the Parliament's Forces into the Cloſe; and after that defeats Sir *John Gell*, and Sir *W. Brereton*, but the Earl was ſlain at the Head of his Forces; and the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, in the North, overthrew the Parliament's Forces commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, at *Bradforth*; and Sir *William Waller* is defeated in the Weſt; Prince *Rupert* takes *Briſtol*, and Prince *Maurice*, *Exeter*, *Biddiford*, *Barnſtable*, *Appleford*, and *Dartmouth*: The great *Hambden* is routed, and mortally wounded at *Chalgrave Field* by Prince *Rupert*. And now the King had two conquering Armies in the North and Weſt, and the Parliament none conſiderable to oppoſe either; ſo that if either the King, or the Marquiſs of *New-Caſtle*, had marched to *London*, in all Appearance either Army would have found little Oppoſition: but inſtead hereof, the King ſits down and beſieges *Gloceſter*, and the Marquiſs of *New-Caſtle* comes before *Hull*.

A. Reg. 19.

King's Army ſucceſsful in ſeveral Places.

This gave the Parliament an Opportunity to recruit *Eſſex*'s Army, and to enter into a Treaty to procure the *Scots* to bring an Army into *England* again for to aſſiſt the Parliament. In this Treaty a double Conſideration is remarkable; firſt, The Inſtability of humane Actions, which are founded in Paſſion and Prejudice, for there was but one Year between this Treaty and the National Proteſtation by the Parliament, to *Maintain the true Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, and according to their Duty and Allegiance, to maintain and defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Eſtate, the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subjects, and to preſerve the Union between the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and this to be taken by all *Engliſh*-men; but now the *Scots* would not ſtir one Step,

Parliament enter into a Treaty with the Scots.

A.D.1643 Step, unleſs the Parliament of *England* would join with them in their Covenant, which ill agreed with their Proteſtation; which the Parliament ſubmitted to.

The other, was a Diſcovery of a Spark, which ſoon after broke out into ſuch a Flame, as conſumed the Covenant, Presbytery, the Parliament, King, and Church and State of *England*; for tho' during the Proſperity of the King's Affairs this Fire was covered, yet when young Sir *Henry Vane* (who was one of the Parliament's Commiſſioners, and one who loved the Presbyterian Government no better than the Epiſcopal) ſaw that the Parliament would *ſubmit to the* Scotiſh Covenant and Diſcipline, he ſtifly oppoſed it ſingly, and at laſt carry'd it, that the Nations ſhould join in a Solemn League; and the *Scots* would have Church-Government to be according to the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches; but Sir *Henry Vane* inſiſted to have it according to the Word of God only, and carry'd both Points. Afterwards, one of Sir *Henry*'s Fellows expoſtulated with him, why he ſhould put them to ſo much Trouble about ſuch needleſs Trifles? Sir *Henry* anſwer'd, He was miſtaken, and did not ſee far enough into the matter; for a League ſhewed it was between two Nations, and might be broken upon juſt Reaſons, but not a Covenant; and that Church-Government, according to the Word of God, by the Difference of Divines and Expoſitors, would be long enough before it were determined, for the Learneſt held it clearly for Epiſcopacy; ſo that when all agreed, we may take in the *Scots* Presbytery.

Eſſex *relieves* Glocester.

The Parliament having recruited the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, he forced his Paſſage, and relieved *Glocester*; the King's Army retreat to *Newbury*, where it was charged by *Eſſex*, and worſted; and in the Fight, the Ornament of the Age, the learned and moſt ingenious Lord *Falkland*, tho' weary of his Life, and preſaging his own Deſtiny, was ſlain, as were the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Carnarven*.

If the King's Army had ſuch bad Succeſs before *Glocester*, my Lord of *New-Caſtle* had worſe before *Hull*; for lying in a mooriſh, unhealthy Place, in a ſickly Seaſon,

Seaſon of the Year, *viz. September* and *October*, the whole Army fell into Fluxes and other Diſtempers, ſo as they were forced to raiſe the Siege, having done nothing conſiderable in it: Beſides, at this Time *Lyn-Regis* in *Norfolk* (a Place near as conſiderable as *Hull*) was ſeized by the Gentry of *Norfolk*, and might have been relieved, if *New-Caſtle* had not been engaged in beſieging *Hull*. Tho' the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Parliament agreed in their Solemn League and Covenant, yet ſo did not Sir *John Hotham* and his Son with the Preferment of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. Hereupon the Parliament intended to have diſplaced *Hotham*; which when he heard of, both he and his Son treated with the Marquiſs of *New-Caſtle* to deliver *Hull* to the King; and the Parliament ſuſpecting the Deſign, ſent Sir *Matthew Bromton* (Sir *John*'s Brother-in Law) to ſeize both Father and Son; which Sir *John* little ſuſpecting, till it was too late, fled to *Beverly*, where he was ſeized by his own Soldiers, and carried to *Hull*, from whence Sir *Matthew* ſent both Father and Son to *London*, where ſoon after both loſt their Heads. *A. Reg.* 19.

When the Parliament ſent Commiſſioners to invite the *Scots* to come to their Aſſiſtance, the King ſent Letters to diſſwade them from it, urging the manifold Grants he had given to them when he was in *Scotland* laſt, which compleated all they could ask; and their ſolemn Proteſtations to be for ever his Majeſty's moſt obedient Subjects. *That it ſhould be deteſtable Treaſon in the higheſt degree, for any of the* Scots *Nation, conjunctly or ſingly, to raiſe Arms or any military Force upon any Cauſe whatever, without the King's Commiſſion.* But now, unprovoked by the King, and againſt his expreſs Command, they in open Hoſtility enter *England* a ſecond Time againſt him; ſo little Faith or Honour was to be truſted to from theſe Covenanters; for the *Scots* having made their Market with the King, reſolve to improve it with the Parliament, and beſides their Pay, or Wages of Iniquity, will have the Covenant and Kirk-Government impoſed upon the *Engliſh* as well as *Scots* Nation; and tho' the King's Letters were ſigned by 19 Lords, the *Scots* ordered them to be burnt by the common Hangman; *Scots Army enter England.*

A.D.1644 man; and in order hereunto, General *Leſley*, now Earl of *Leven*, upon the 16th of *January* enters into *England* again, with an Army of above 20000 *Scots*. The King, to add Reputation to his Arms, ſummoned the Members of Parliament which followed him, to meet at *Oxford* upon the 22d of *January*, where they voted the coming of the *Scots* to be Treaſon and Rebellion: but becauſe they would not come up to the King's Deſire, in Voting the Members at *Weſtminſter* to be no Parliament, the King, in great Diſpleaſure with them, and in his Letters to the Queen, calls them his mungrel Parliament; ſuch was the Kindneſs the King ſhewed thoſe Noble Lords and Gentry for ſacrificing their Lives and Fortunes for his Service. And to oppoſe the *Scots*, the King makes a Ceſſation of Arms with the *Iriſh*, and draws back into *England* the *Engliſh* which he ſent to oppoſe the *Iriſh*; but theſe were every where beaten, 1500 of them caſt away by Sea, and the greateſt Body of them commanded by Sir *Michael Ernley*, Major General *Gibſon*, Sir *Francis Boteler*, and Colonel *Monk* (who ſhall unravel all the Parliament and *Scots* were now weaving) were totally routed and diſperſed by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, joining with Sir *William Brereton* near *Nantwich*; and all theſe with Colonel *Gibs*, *Harmon*, Sir *Ralph Dawns*, with fourteen Captains, twenty ſix Enſigns, and other inferior Officers, and 1500 common Soldiers, taken Priſoners, with the Loſs of their Cannon and Baggage: So that, as *Whitlock* obſerves, theſe *Iriſh* never did the King any conſiderable Service. But to ſweeten this, Prince *Rupert*, at the cloſe of this Year, beat Sir *John Meldrum* a *Scot*, who beſieged *Newark*, and his Army ſurrendred up their Arms: Upon which the Parliament-Garriſons in *Grimsborow*, *Lincoln*, and *Sleford*, quitted theſe Places to the King's Forces. And here we will end the Year 1643. and take notice how Mr. Serjeant *Whitlock*, *f.* 64. *b.* errs in point of Time, where he ſays the *Scots* paſſed the *Tyne* in 1642, under General *Leſley*, to aſſiſt the Parliament; and *f.* 67. *a.* he ſays, the Queen was brought to Bed at *Exeter* of the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, (which for ought appears, was before the Queen landed from *Holland*) for ſhe was born the

King makes a Ceſſation with the Iriſh.

20th

20th of *June* 1644. See Sir *Richard Baker's* Hiſtory, *f.* 434. *A. Reg.* 20.

Anno Reg. 20. *Dom.* 1644.

The Wonders which ſucceeded theſe two Years in *England* will better appear if a View be taken of the preſent Poſture of Affairs, as they ſtood in the beginning of this Year: *England* and *Scotland* are united in one *Solemn League* and *Covenant*; in *January* laſt, *Leſley* (or *Leven*) entred *England* with an Army of 18000 Foot, and 3500 Horſe and Dragoons, and ſoon after the Earl of *Calendar* enter'd *England* with an Army of 10000 *Scots* more; theſe commanded by old and experienced Officers; and the *Engliſh* Parliament's Armies were commanded by as brave and reſolute Commanders as were to be found in *Europe*: The Fleet wholly at the Parliament's Devotion, and ſo was the City of *London*. So that if you look upon the Superſtructure, nothing could appear more ſtrong and laſting.

And all this time you hear little of *Oliver Cromwell*, more than that he was a Captain of Horſe, and being of a bold and active Spirit, ſecured the Town of *Cambridge* for the Parliament, and was very diligent in obſtructing ſeveral Levies for the King in *Cambridgeſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*: For theſe Services he had a Commiſſion to be a Colonel of Horſe, and having an inſinuating and canting way of preaching, and ſeeming very Godly, raiſed ſuch a Regiment of Horſe as was no where to be found; the Riders, ſpirited with Zeal to the Cauſe, yet not of the *Scots* mode: and to ſecure them without, *Oliver* took care to provide them able Horſes, and to be well arm'd and accoutred; ſo as every one of them, beſide Sword and Piſtol, had Pot, Back and Breaſt, Muſquet-proof. *Riſe of* Cromwel.

He was Nephew to Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, who had a very great Eſtate, but his Father being a younger Brother, had not above 300 *l. per Annum*. Their Name originally was not *Cromwell*, but *Williams*, and the Name of *Cromwell* was by this Accident: When *Cromwell* Earl of *Eſſex* fell, in the Reign of *Hen.* 8. he

A.D. 1644 had *Cromwell*'s Anceſtor in his Service, who was a Perſon of lively Parts, and induſtrious in Buſineſs, which *Hen.* 8. obſerving, took him into his Service, but upon all occaſions call'd him *Cromwell*; and the King being ask'd the Reaſon, anſwer'd, *He call'd him ſo in* Cromwell's *time, and would continue to call him ſo ſtill*; and this continued down to Sir *Oliver*'s, and our *Cromwell*'s time.

Our *Oliver* being of a turbulent and aſpiring Diſpoſition, his Father's contracted Fortunes could not ſupport his Extravagancies, whereby he was like to have fallen into thoſe Troubles which uſually attend ſuch Follies; and to prevent them he ſets up for *New England*, where he becomes a moſt zealous Promoter of their Cauſe: But this could not long continue him there; for in their firſt planting themſelves they were poor, ſo as he could not find Means and Opportunity to ſupport his Extravagancies, and ſo back he came again into *England*.

About the Year 1638, the Undertakers to drain the Fen-Lands in *Lincolnſhire* and the Iſle of *Ely*, ſet up; this Undertaking was mainly oppoſed by the Town of *Cambridge*, fearing it would ſpoil their Navigation between *Cambridge* and *Lyn-Regis*, whence *Cambridge* was ſupplied with Sea-Coal, Wine and other Proviſions.

When the Writs were iſſued out for calling the ſecond Parliament in 1640, *Oliver* ſets up to be choſen Burgeſs for the Town of *Cambridge*, aſſuring them, that if he were choſen, he would make it his Buſineſs to overthrow the Project of draining the Fens. But tho' by this Project he got to be choſen, yet after he became Protector he moſt induſtriouſly promoted it.

But tho' *Cromwell* was of a turbulent and aſpiring Spirit, yet before the Civil Wars broke out in *England*, he was not converſant in any Military Diſcipline, nor indeed of any other Learning, or juſt or lawful Calling: His Perſon was of a robuſt and coarſe Complexion, his Face red, ſo was his Noſe, (I fancy like the *Roman* General *Sylla*'s) great and ſtraked with blew Veins. In promoting his Cauſe and Intereſt he was moſt induſtrious and indefatigable: Theſe Qualities

lities were obſerved and feared by ſome both of the King's and Parliament's Party, before they came to be publickly known and put in Execution. I'll give an Inſtance or two hereof. *A. Reg.* 20.

When the King ſummoned the Members of Parliament of his Party to meet at *Oxford* in *January* laſt, Williams Archbiſhop of *York* was likewiſe ſummoned, with whom the King privately conſulted what Courſe was beſt to be taken in the preſent Circumſtances of his Affairs; the Archbiſhop adviſed him by all means to come to an Agreement with the Parliament; for ſince the *Scots* were come into *England* in ſuch numerous Armies, and the *Engliſh* of the Parliament's Party in theſe two laſt Years having acquired a Military Knowledge, it would in all appearance be impoſſible for the King long to withſtand their Forces; but above all, he adviſed the King to get *Cromwell* over to his ſide, if poſſible; otherways to take him off by any Means, or he would be the King's Ruin; as you may read more at large in the ſecond Part of the Biſhop of *Litchfield*'s Life of *Williams*. *Archbiſhop Williams his Account of him to the King.*

Nor was *Cromwell* leſs terrible to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the *Scots* Commiſſioners, than to the King's Party; ſo that one Evening the Earl and ſeveral of his Confidents, *viz.* Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton* and Sir *John Meyrick*, and others, with the *Scots* Commiſſioners, were in Conſultation how to get rid of *Cromwell*, and ſent to Serjeant *Whitlock* and *Maynard* about it, who came, and *Eſſex* told them, that he ſent for them to have their Advice and Counſel upon a Matter of great Importance concerning both Kingdoms; in which the Lords Commiſſioners of *Scotland* are concern'd for their Kingdom, as we for ours, and they, as well as we, know your Abilities and Integrity, and are deſirous of your Counſel in this great Buſineſs; which both the Serjeants promiſed faithfully to give. But here take notice, That as the *Engliſh* Parliament call'd thoſe who were oppoſite to them *Malignants*, ſo the *Scots* call'd thoſe oppoſite to them *Incendiaries*.

At the Deſire of *Eſſex*, the Chancellor of *Scotland* (*Lowden*) ſpake as followeth:

Mr. Maynard *and Mr.* Whitlock;

I Can aſſure you of the great Opinion both my Brethren and ſelf have of your Worth and Abilities, elſe we ſhould not have deſired this Meeting with you: And ſince it is his Excellency's (Eſſex's) *Pleaſure, that I ſhould acquaint you with the Matter upon whilk your Counſel is deſired, I ſhall obey his Commands, and briefly recite the Buſineſs to you.*

You ken vary weele that Lieutenant Gen. Cromwell *is no Friend of ours; and ſince the Advance of our Army into* England, *he has uſed all under-hand and cunning Means to take off from our Honour, and the Merits of this Kingdom, an evil Requital of all our Hazards and Services; but ſo it is, and we are nevertheleſs fully ſatisfied of the Affections and Gratitude of the gude People of the Nation in general.*

It is thought requiſite for us, and for carrying on the Cauſe of the twa Kingdoms, that this Obſtacle or Remora be removed out of the way, whom we foreſee will be no ſmall Impediment to us in the gude Deſign we have undertaken.

He not only is no Friend to us and the Government of our Church, but he is alſo no well-willer to his Excellency, whom you and we have all cauſe to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on this way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole Buſineſs; therefore we are to adviſe of ſome Courſe to be taken for Prevention of this Miſchief.

You ken vary weele the Accord betwixt the twa Nations, and the Union by the ſolemn League and Covenant; and if any be an Incendiary between the twa Nations, how he is to be proceeded againſt. Now the Matter is, wherein we deſire your Opinions, what you take the meaning of the Word Incendiary *to be, and whether the Lieutenant General be not ſike an Incendiary, as is meant thereby; and whilk Way wad be beſt to proceed againſt him, if he be proved ſike an Incendiary, and that we may clepe his Wings from ſoaring to the Prejudice of our Caſe.*

Now you may ken, That by our Law in Scotland, *we clepe him an* Incendiary, *wha kindleth Coals of Contention, and raiſeth Differences in the State, to the Publick Damage; and he is* Tanquam Publicus Hoſtis Patriæ. *Whether your Law be the ſame or not, you ken beſt, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we deſire your Judgment in theſe Points.*

Mr.

Mr. *Whitlock* anſwered firſt, and after a ſhort Preface ſaid, The Senſe of the Word *Incendiary* is the ſame with us as your Lordſhip has expreſſed to be by the Law of *Scotland*, *One that raiſeth the Fire of Contention in a State, that kindleth burning hot Flames of Contention*; and ſo it is taken in the Accord of the two Kingdoms. *A. Reg.* 20.

Whether Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwell* be ſuch an *Incendiary* between the two Kingdoms, as is meant by this Word, cannot be known but by Proofs of his particular Words and Actions, tending to the kindling of this Fire of Contention between the two Nations, and the raiſing of Difference between us.

If it do not appear by Proofs he has done this, he is not an *Incendiary*; but if it can be made out by Proofs, that he hath done this, then he is an *Incendiary*, and to be proceeded againſt for it by the Parliament, upon his being thus accuſed for thoſe Things.

This I take for a Ground, That my Lord General and Lords Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, being of ſo great Honour and Authority as you are, muſt not appear in any Buſineſs, eſpecially of an Accuſation, but ſuch as you ſhall ſee before-hand clearly will be made out, and be brought to the Effect intended.

Otherwiſe for ſuch Perſons as you are, to begin a Buſineſs of this Weight, and not to have it ſo prepared before-hand as to be certain to carry it, but to be put to a doubtful Trial, in caſe it ſhould not ſucceed as you expect, but that you ſhould be foiled in it, it would reflect upon your great Honours and Wiſdom.

Next, As to the Perſon who is to be accuſed as an *Incendiary*, it will be fit, in my humble Opinion, to conſider his preſent Condition, and Parts, and Intereſt, wherein Mr. *Maynard* and my ſelf by our conſtant Attendance in the Houſe of Commons, are the more capable to give an Account to your Lordſhips; and for his Intereſt in the Army, ſome Honourable Perſons here preſent, his Excellency's Officers, are beſt able to inform your Lordſhips.

I take Lieutenant General *Cromwell* to be a Gentleman of Quick and Subtile Parts, and one who hath,

A.D. 1644 eſpecially of late, gained no ſmall Intereſt in the House of Commons, nor is he wanting of Friends in the Houſe of Lords, nor of Ability in himſelf to manage his own Part or Defence to the beſt Advantage.

If this be ſo (my Lords) it will be more requiſite to be well prepared againſt him, before he be brought upon the Stage, leſt the Iſſue of the Buſineſs be not anſwerable to your Expectations.

I have not yet heard any Particulars mentioned by his Excellency, nor by my Lord Chancellor, or any other; nor do I know any in my private Obſervations, which will amount to a clear Proof of ſuch Matters as will ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons, in the Caſe of Lieutenant General *Cromwell* (and according to our Law, and the Courſe of Proceedings in our Parliament) that he is an *Incendiary*, and to be puniſhed accordingly.

However, I apprehend it to be doubtful, and therefore cannot adviſe at this Time he ſhould be accuſed for an *Incendiary*, but rather that Direction may be given to collect ſuch particular Paſſages relating to him, by which your Lordſhips may judge whether they will amount to prove him an *Incendiary*, or not.

And this being done, we may again wait on your Excellence, if you pleaſe, and upon View of thoſe Proofs we ſhall be better able to adviſe, and your Lordſhips to judge what will be fit to be done in this Matter.

Mr. *Maynard* agreed with Mr. *Whitlock* in every Particular, and only varied that the Word *Incendiary* is not much converſant in our Law, nor often met with in our Books; but more a Term of Civil Law and of State, and ſo to be conſidered in this Caſe.

Mr. *Hollis*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and others, ſpake ſmartly to the Buſineſs, and mentioned ſome particular Paſſages and Words of *Cromwell*, to prove him an *Incendiary*; and that he had not that Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons as was ſuppoſed, and would willingly have been upon the Accuſation of him; but the *Scots* Commiſſioners were not ſo forward to join with them in it. So *Cromwell* eſcaped. But ſo did not Mr. *Hollis* and Sir *Philip*, about two Years after, upon *Cromwell*'s Accuſation of them.

If it be ſo ſtrange that *Cromwell*, ſo bred, and having no Correſpondence abroad or at home, ſhould in two Years Time get ſuch an Aſcendant over the Parliament's Army in *England*, ſo commanded and diſciplin'd as aforeſaid; it will appear more admirable by what mean Perſons he chiefly atchieved it, as by *Pride*, *Whaley*, *Hewſon*, *Harriſon*, *Goff*, *Ven*, *Barkſtead*, *Cobbet*, *Okey*, &c. broken Citizens, and not before acquainted with any Military Diſcipline. *A. Reg.* 20.

But while this Canker-Worm was breeding in the Bowels of the Parliament and Army, the Winds of adverſe Fortune blew almoſt conſtantly in the Face of the King's Affairs; and to tell particularly of all the Battles, Sieges, and Rencounters which happened in *England* in theſe two next Years, would ſwell this Story to a much greater Bulk than I deſign.

Upon the 29th of *March*, the King's Army, commanded by Gen. *Forth* and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, was totally routed near *Wincheſter*, by Sir *William Waller*, Sir *William Balfour*, and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, (and 'twas obſerved that two *Iriſh* Regiments which ſerved the King in this Fight, were the firſt which broke and run away:) And ſoon after Captain *Swanley* ſecured *Milford-Haven*, *Haverford-Weſt*, and all *Pembrookſhire*, for the Parliament: And upon the 11th of *April*, my Lord *Fairfax*, and his Son Sir *Thomas*, took *Selby* in *Yorkſhire* by Storm, and in it Colonel *Bellaſis* Governor, with moſt of the other Officers, and 1600 common Soldiers, with all their Guns, Arms and Ammunition.

To qualify theſe Loſſes in ſome meaſure, the King about the latter end of *June*, fights *Waller* at *Cropredy-Bridge*, and routs him, kills 300 of his Men, and *Weems* General of the Ordnance was taken Priſoner, with two Lieutenant Colonels, three Captains, and ſeveral other Officers, and 180 common Soldiers, with 14 Pieces of Cannon.

This ſmall Victory bore no Proportion to the irreparable Loſs the King ſuſtained in the *North*: for *York* being beſieged by the United Forces of *Manchester*, both the *Fairfaxes*, Father and Son, and *Leven* (or *Leſley*) General of the *Scots*; Prince *Rupert* with all the Powers he could raiſe, marched to the Relief

of

A.D.1644 of it, after he had relieved *Latham-Houſe* in *Lancaſhire*, bravely defended by the Counteſs of *Darby*. The Parliament Forces hereupon raiſed their Siege, and the Prince fetching a Compaſs about, relieved *York*, and joined with the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*, ſo as the Prince's Army was 27000 ſtrong; with which he marched to *Marſton-Moor*, whither the Parliament's Army was marched before; and upon the third of *July*, both Armies fought, and the Prince with the Left Wing charged the Parliament's Right Wing, and routed and purſued them a great Way; ſo did General *Goring*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Major General *Porter*, rout the main Body of the Parliament's Army; ſo that all the three Parliament Generals, *Fairfax*, *Manchester* and *Leſley* gave all for loſt.

Battle of Marſton-Moor.

But the Prince, as he did before at *Edgehill*, purſuing the Enemy too far, gave an Opportunity to Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to rally his Men, and joining with *Cromwell's* Regiment of Lobſters, armed with Pot, Back and Breſt, fell upon the Right Wing of the King's Army, and routed them, and alſo the reſt of the King's Foot, deſtitute of Horſe, and obtain'd a compleat Victory. In this Fight above 7000 were ſlain, 3000 of the King's part taken Priſoners, and 25 Ordnance, 47 Colours, 10000 Arms, two Waggons laden with Carbines and Piſtols, 130 Barrels of Powder, with all the Bag and Baggage.

After this the Parliament's Generals returned to the Siege of *York*, and ſummoned it, which was delivered up to them by Sir *Thomas Glenham*, and the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* went beyond Sea. Thus was all the *North* reduced to the Parliament by the fatal Raſhneſs of the Prince, who might have avoided the Fight, and joined with the Marquiſs of *Montroſs* and Colonel *Clavering*, who were with 6000 Foot within two Days March of him.

Parliament reduce all the North.

The *North* thus ſubdued, upon the Matter, *Eſſex*, by the Perſwaſion of my Lord *Roberts*, marches into the *Weſt*, but a different Fate attended him: For the King followed him, and joining with Prince *Maurice*, followed *Eſſex* into *Cornwall*, where he block'd up all the Avenues, ſo as *Eſſex* muſt either fight or be ſtarved; but in regard that the King had poſſeſs'd himſelf

Eſſex's Army undone in Cornwall.

ſelf of all the Paſſages, *Eſſex* could not fight without an apparent Hazard of the Loſs of his *Army*: However, Sir *William Balfour*, with 2300 Horſe, brake through the King's *Army*, and got to *Salt-aſh*, and from thence to *Plimouth*, which held for the Parliament. *A. Reg.* 20.

Now were the Parliament's Foot in a wretched State, the King cloſely purſuing them, and the Country People riſing upon them: Hereupon *Eſſex* deſerts them, and with divers of his Officers by Sea got to *Plimouth*, leaving *Skippon* to take care of the reſt; who upon the 2d of *September* capitulated, *to deliver up to the King all their Artillery, with all the Bag and Baggage; no Perſon under a Corporal to wear any kind of Weapon: all Officers above, to wear only Sword and Piſtol.* And ſo *Skippon* marched to *Pool*, which was in the Parliament's Power.

The ill Succeſs of *Eſſex* in this Expedition, was the Cauſe of *Eſſex*'s Fall, (tho' the Parliament at preſent ſeemed to be otherwiſe diſpoſed) and of the Riſe of *Cromwell*, as we ſhall obſerve.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing in the *North* and *Weſt*, other *Actions* of *leſs Conſequence* happened. Sir *Thomas Middleton* having taken *Montgomery-Caſtle*, the King's Forces advanced in a much greater Body to retake it; whereupon Sir *Thomas* retreated: But being joined with Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Meldrum* (a *Scot*) and Sir *William Fairfax*, returned and charged the King's Party, and took Priſoner Major General *Broughton*, Lieutenant Colonel *Bludwel*, M. *Williams*, nine Captains, many inferior Officers, and 1500 common Soldiers: Of the Parliament's Party Sir *William Fairfax* was ſlain with Eleven Wounds, Major *Fitz-Symons*, and about 40 Soldiers, and 60 wounded. *Monmouth* Town and Caſtle were ſurprized by *Maſſey*, with the Loſs only of Six Men. Lieutenant General Leſley in the *North*, fell upon the Forces commanded by Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, kill'd divers upon the Place, and took 100 Priſoners. My Lord *Herbert*, Son of the Earl of *Worceſter*, was beaten by *Maſſey*, who killed 50, and took 60 Priſoners; and *Maſſey* fell upon a Party of the King's near *Beachy*, killed 70, and took 170 Priſoners; and Colonel *Charles Fleetwood* took two Troops of the King's Horſe near *Belvoir* Caſtle.

From

A.D.1645 From theſe leſſer Actions we now advance to tell of Greater: The Parliament's Army every where victorious in the *North*, *Leſley* had now an Opportunity to return to *Newcaſtle*, which he ſummoned to yield, which being refuſed, he ſtormed and took it by Force; whereupon Sir *John Marlay* the Mayor, and others, fled to the Caſtle, and would have capitulated, but were denied, and ſo were forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

But how ſucceſsful ſoever the Parliament's Forces were in the *North*, after the Fight at *Marſton-Moor*, the King reaped but little after the Parliament's Foot had delivered up their Arms in the *Weſt*; for *Eſſex* having joined *Manchester* and *Waller*, reſolved to hinder the King's Return to *Oxford*, and upon the 23d of *October* rendezvouz'd the Army at *Aldermaſton-Park*, and next Night privately paſſed the Water at a Ford near *Padworth*, and next Morning to *Buckleburry-Heath* near *Newberry*, where the King then was; and about 12 a Clock drew down their whole Army between *Thatcham* and *Shaw*, and skirmiſhed with the King's Horſe; *Manchester's* Troops and the *London* Train'd-Bands croſſed the River *Kennet* between *Newberry* and the Hill, and forced the King's Party which kept the Paſs from thence, with ſome Execution; but Sir *Bernard Aſtley* (Son of Sir *Jacob* or the Lord *Aſtley*) coming to their Reſcue, forced the Parliamentarians back again.

Battle of Newberry.

In the Afternoon 4000 of *Eſſex* and *Waller's* Horſe and Dragoons, with 500 Foot, charged the King's Forces on the Weſt of *Newberry*, and forced them to retreat in ſome Diſorder, and ſome of the King's Field-Pieces were taken; *Eſſex* followed the Succeſs, and charged the King's Life-Guard, whom he overpowered, and had much more endamaged, if the Lord *Bernard Stuart* had not come to their Aſſiſtance, and ſecured their Retreat; but the Parliamentarians every way advancing, beat the King's Army out of the Field, with the Loſs of many Colours, and two Pieces of Cannon. Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Leak*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Topping*, and Captain *Catclyne* (elder Brother of Sir *Nevil Catclyne*, my worthy Friend) were killed; and the

the Earl of *Cleveland*, and ſome few others, taken Priſoners. *A.Reg.*21.

If the King's Affairs ſucceeded ſo ill in the *Weſt*, they did worſe in the *North*; for *Leverpool* ſubmitted to the Parliament, and *Leſley* had *Tinmouth-Caſtle* (a Place which hereafter he ſhall be better acquainted with, tho' not in the Quality of a General of an Army, but a Priſoner) ſurrender'd upon Articles.

After this, *Janus*'s Temple was ſhut this Year, if you begin it at *January*. And now a *Treaty of Peace* at *Uxbridge* is ſet on foot at the Deſire of the King; but no Succeſs attended it. *Treaty of Uxbridge.*

This Year, tho' the Prince *Rupert* and *Maurice* followed the King in his Wars againſt the Parliament, yet the Elector *Palatine*, *Frederick*, their elder Brother, petitioned the Parliament that he might come over, and take the Covenant; which tho' at firſt they refuſed, yet afterwards they admitted him, and allowed him 8000 *l. per Annum* out of my Lord *Petres* and other Delinquents Eſtates; and ſo he continued till after the Treaty at *Munſter* 1648, where he led a Life not becoming a Prince in Adverſity.

The Treaty of Peace at *Uxbridge* not ſucceeding, the Parliament took the Town of *Shrewsbury*, which, as it is one of the moſt famous of all the Towns of *England*, ſo it ſtopt, on that part, the Entercourſe of *Wales* with the Counties of *Salop*, *Cheſter*, and *Worceſter*.

But to throw a little Water into the Wine of the Parliament's Succeſſes, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, about the beginning of *March*, routed a great Body of the Parliamentarians in *Yorkſhire*, and defeated the Army commanded by my Lord *Fairfax*, which beſieg'd *Pomfret-Caſtle*; and from thence marched into *Leiceſterſhire*, and defeated a great Body of the Parliament's Forces commanded by Colonel *Roſſiter*.

Anno Reg. 21. *Dom.* 1645.

We begin this Year with the *Self-denying Ordinance*. But the Lords refuſed to concur with the Commons herein; ſo as this Ordinance began with a Rupture between the two Houſes, ſo you'll ſee it ſhall be the Ruin of the Parliament's, as well as the King's Deſigns. The pretended Reaſon for this Ordinance

was,

*A.D.*1645 was, the Thinneſs of the Houſe, which by Employment in the War, would render them much thinner: To which Mr. *Whitlock* anſwered, *It might be ſupplied by filling up the Commons by new Elections.*

He objected againſt the Ordinance, the Examples of the *Grecians* and *Romans*, who had the greateſt Offices both of War and Peace conferred upon their Senators; becauſe they having greater Intereſts than others, were more capable to do them the greateſt Services; and that by paſſing this Ordinance, they would lay aſide the General *Eſſex*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Denbigh*, and *Mancheſter*, the Lords *Willoughby* and *Roberts*; and of their own Members, the Lords *Grey* (of *Groby*) and *Fairfax*, Sir *William Waller*, *Cromwell*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Brereton*, and Sir *John Meyrick*.

Tho' the Commons paſſed the *Self-denying Ordinance*, yet they diſpenſed with it in reference to *Cromwell*, *Skippon*, and *Acton*, and Sir *William Waller*. Hereupon the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Denbigh*, and *Mancheſter*, lay down their Commiſſions. Here it's obſervable, That the Earl of *Eſſex*, as he was the firſt which headed an Army againſt the King, and whoſe Authority was ſo great, that 'twas believed if he had not done it, the Parliament could not have raiſed an Army, is now the firſt diſcarded by the Commons, without giving any Reaſon.

Parliament's Army new modelled.

In this new Eſtabliſhment of the *Engliſh* Army, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made General, *Cromwell* Lieutenant General, and *Skippon* Major General. The Royaliſts conceived Mountains of Advantages to follow (and that not improbably) from the Diviſions in the Parliament's Army, which ſucceeded quite contrary.

For upon the 3d of *April*, *Fairfax* having gathered his Army together at *Windſor*, ſent *Cromwell* with a Brigade of Horſe and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of Horſe which Prince *Rupert* had ſent from *Worceſter* to fetch off the King from *Oxford*, with a Train of Artillery to take the Field; which *Cromwell* met at *Iſlip*, and routed them, took divers Priſoners, and 200 Horſe; and from thence *Cromwell* march'd and took *Bletchingdon-Houſe*, commanded by Colonel *Windebank*

Windebank (Sir *Francis*'s own Son) by Surrender upon the firſt Summons; for which *Windebank* was ſentenced by a Court-Martial, and ſhot to Death. But *Cromwell* had not ſo good Succeſs at *Faringdon*, which he aſſaulted, and was beaten off with the loſs of 200 of his Men. *A. Reg.* 21.

The King underſtanding that *Fairfax* had a Deſign to beſiege *Oxford*, ſent to Prince *Rupert* and General *Goring* to fetch him off, which they did about the beginning of *May*; and the King marched towards the Relief of *Cheſter*, then beſieged by the Parliament's Forces; and *Fairfax* lays cloſe Siege to *Oxford*. The King relieved *Cheſter*, and in his Return, takes *Leiceſter* by Storm: This put *Fairfax* to his Trumps, ſo that if he continued the Siege of *Oxford*, he would leave all the mid-land Parts of *England* to the Mercy of the King. So he raiſes his Siege, and marches to fight the King's Army.

My Lord *Aſtley* was Lieutenant General of the King's Foot, whoſe Nephew was Sir *Iſaac Aſtley*, my Lord's eldeſt Brother's eldeſt Son, who married a Couſin-German of mine; and after the War was over, my Lord *Aſtley* being at his Nephew's, in Diſcourſe of the Wars, my Lord told him, That upon the Approach of the Parliament's Army, the King called a Council of War, where, by the Advice of my Lord *Aſtley*, it was reſolved to march Northwards, and deſtroy the Country Proviſions, and leave the Parliament's Army at their Election, whether they would follow the King, or beſiege *Leiceſter*: But next Morning, quite contrary to the Order of Council, Orders were given to prepare to fight the Parliament's Army, when there was little Time to draw up the Army; ſo inconſtant and irreſolute was the King in this, as of almoſt all his other Actions; and ſo forward was the King herein, that he marched to meet *Fairfax*'s Army near *Naſeby* in *Northamptonſhire*. This was upon *Saturday*, *June* the 14th. *Battle of Naſeby.*

And if the Reſolution to fight was inconſiderate and raſh, ſo was the Fight; for Prince *Rupert*, who commanded the Right Wing of the King's Horſe, charged the Left Wing of the Parliament's, commanded by *Ireton*, and routed them, and wounded

Ireton

A.D.1645 *Ireton* in the Thigh; and as before, at *Edge-Hill* and *Marſton-Moor*, he purſued the Enemy ſo far, that he left the reſt of the Army expoſed to the Aſſaults of the Enemy; ſo here he followed the Chaſe almoſt to *Naſeby*, leaving the Left Wing of the King's Army commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, open, to be charged by *Cromwell*.

That which compleated the Parliament's Victory, and the King's utter Overthrow in this Fight, was, the not obſerving the Orders the Day before, of the King's Retreat; for *York ſhire* being oppreſt by the Parliament's Forces, Sir *Marmaduke* had Expectation of relieving the King's Party there, which being croſs'd by the Reſolution of this Day's Fight, his Brigade, as well as himſelf, grew diſcontented; ſo as he no ways anſwered the Gallant Actions which before he had atchieved: And *Cromwell* having forced Sir *Marmaduke* to retreat, joining with *Fairfax*, charged the King's Foot (who had beaten the Parliament's, and got Poſſeſſion of their Ordnance, and thought themſelves certain of the Victory) being in Confuſion and out of Order, and having no Horſe to ſupport them, were eaſily over-born by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*; and ſo *Fairfax*'s Army obtain'd a moſt abſolute Victory over the King's.

We hear no more of Prince *Rupert* in this Fight; who, 'twas believed, was the firſt Mover of it, till of his Arrival at *Briſtol*.

In this Fight, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Lord *Aſtley*, and Colonel *Ruſſel*, were wounded, and 20 Colonels, Knights, and Officers of Note, and 600 common Soldiers were ſlain on the King's ſide; and 6 Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 80 Lieutenants, 200 Enſigns and other Officers, and 4500 common Soldiers were taken Priſoners; 12 Pieces of Cannon, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages, with all their Bag and Baggage, with ſtore of rich Pillage, 3000 Horſe, one of the King's Coaches, with his Cabinets of Letters and Papers: And the King fled towards *Wales*.

If the King were unfortunate in the Succeſs of this Fight, he was not leſs in the Diſcovery of his ſecret Counſels

Counſels with the Queen, which were ſo contrary to thoſe he declared to the Kingdom; for in his Letter to the Queen, *he declared his Intention to make Peace with the* Iriſh, *and to have* 4000 *of them over in to* England *to proſecute the War here.* And in others he complained, *he could not prevail with his Mungrel Parliament at* Oxford, *to Vote that the Parliament of* Weſtminſter *were not a Lawful Parliament:* So little Thanks had theſe Noble Lords and Gentlemen for their expoſing their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of the King in his Adverſity. What then might they expect if he ſhould prevail by Conqueſt? *That he would not make a Peace with the Rebels* (the Parliament) *without her Approbation, nor go one jot from the Paper ſhe ſent him: That in the Treaty at* Uxbridge, *he did not poſitively own the Parliament, it being otherwiſe to be conſtrued, tho' they were ſo ſimple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the Notes of the King's Council, that he did not acknowledge them a Parliament.* A. Reg. 21. *King's Letters to the Queen, &c. publiſhed.*

The Members having got theſe Papers, not only printed, and publiſhed them, but order'd them to be kept upon Record; and alſo made a publick Declaration of them, wherein they ſhew what the Nobility and Gentry which follow'd the King might truſt to.

The King's Army being overthrown, the Parliament had two Armies, and the King none, but that which was commanded by General *Goring*, which at that Time beſieged *Taunton*, and ſore diſtreſt it; but it being governed by *Blake* (after the famous Admiral for the *Rump* and *Cromwell* by Sea) it made indeed a wonderful Reſiſtance. And now you'll ſee the King's Garriſons ſurrender by Heaps. *Moſt Places are reduced by the Parliament Forces.*

For, two Days after the Fight at *Naſeby*, viz. *June* 14. *Fairfax* ſat down before *Leiceſter*, where my Lord *Loughborough* was Governor, and made a large Breach towards *Newark*; whereupon the Governor ſurrendred it.

After the Surrender of *York*, the Year before, the King made that noble Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Glenham*, Governor of *Carliſle*, which he defended till the Garriſon were forced to eat Horſe-fleſh: And the Town being beſieged by the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, Sir

A.D.1645 *Thomas*, to throw a Bone of Diſſention between them, deliver'd it up to the *Scots*, about a Week after the Surrender of *Leiceſter*.

From *Leiceſter*, *Fairfax* marches to the Relief of *Taunton*; whereupon *Goring* drew off, and retreated to *Langport*, where *Fairfax* routed *Goring*, kill'd 200 of his Men, took 1400 Priſoners, and purſued the reſt to *Bridgewater*, which *Fairfax* beſieg'd, and had it ſurrender'd upon the 23d of *July*.

And about that Time, *Pontfract-Caſtle* in *Yorkſhire* ſurrender'd to Major General *Pointz*; and upon the 25th of *July*, Sir *Hugh Cholmly* ſurrender'd *Scarborough* Caſtle to Sir *Matthew Boynton*; and upon the 11th of *September*, *Fairfax* ſtorm'd *Briſtol*, and Prince *Rupert* ſurrender'd the Caſtle upon Terms.

Tho' the City of *Hereford* bravely defended it ſelf againſt General *Leſley*, and his *Scots*, from the 15th of *July* to the 1ſt of *September*, and then forced *Leſley* to raiſe the Siege, upon pretence of relieving his own Country, then over-run by the Marquiſs of *Montroſs*; yet it was ſoon after ſurpriſed by Colonel *Birch* and Colonel *Morgan*.

Nor were the King's Forces in the Field more fortunate than thoſe in Garriſon; for the King having got together a Body of about 5000 Men, moſt *Welch*, marched towards the Relief of *Cheſter*, then beſieged by Sir *William Brereton*, and Colonel *Jones*; but in his March, he was fought by General *Pointz* at *Routon-Moor*, within two Miles of *Cheſter*, where the King was worſted, and the Lord *Bernard Stewart* (Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*) kill'd.

The King's Affairs being thus deſperate in *England*, all the Hopes now were of *Scotland*, where *Montroſs* had conquer'd it from one End to the other, and had no viſible Army to oppoſe him; and the King, to make *Scotland* ſecure, commanded my Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, to join *Montroſs* with their Horſe; in purſuance whereof they marched to *Sherborn* in *Yorkſhire*, where they ſurpriſed 700 of the Parliament's Foot, with their Arms and Baggage; but ſtaying for Carriages, Colonel *Copley*, *Lilbourn*, and *Alured*, fell upon them, and routed them, killing and taking 100 Officers, 300 Soldiers, and 600 Horſe,

Horſe, with their Furniture, and my Lord *Digby's* Coach: And my Lord *Digby* marching on with the reſt of his Forces, was ſet upon at *Carliſle Sands*, and utterly defeated; from whence my Lord and *Langdale* eſcaped to the *Iſle of Man*, and after into *Ireland*. *A. Reg. 21.*

From *Routon-Moor* the King got to *Newark*, where Major General *Gerrard* charged the Lord *Digby*, lately defeated at *Sherborn*, with Treaſon: Prince *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the Lord *Hawley*, and Sir *Richard Willis* the Governor, ſided with *Gerrard*; and the Lord *Bellaſis*, and many others, with *Digby*; and ſo did the King, who diſplaced *Willis*, and made the Lord *Bellaſis* Governor. This cauſed great Diſſention, not only in the Garriſon, but in the Officers of the Army which the King brought with him; ſo that the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, General *Gerrard*, my Lord *Hawley*, and *Willis*, forſook the King, and ſent to the Parliament for Paſſes to go beyond Sea.

In this forlorn State the King left *Newark*, and with 300 Horſe got ſafe to *Oxford*, where the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* (not knowing whither elſe to go) came, and were ſeemingly reconciled to him; but upon the Return of the King's Horſe, *Pointz* meets and routs them. Here the King again ſent to the Parliament for a *Treaty of Peace*, which was rejected upon this Occaſion.

Letters were taken in my Lord *Digby's* Coach, after his Rout at *Sherborn*, and alſo in the Pockets of the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, who was ſlain in an Overthrow of the *Iriſh* at *Sligo* in *Ireland*; wherein the King offered the *Iriſh* a Toleration of their Religion, themſelves to chooſe a Governor of their own, and to be entruſted with ſeveral Caſtles and Forts for their Caution, upon Condition that they ſend 10000 Men into *England*, to aſſiſt him againſt his Enemies. And with theſe, they found the Copy of the King's Commiſſion to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, impowering him to treat with the Rebels, *viz.* *Letters about the King's engaging the Iriſh to aſſiſt him.*

CHARLES, *by the Grace of God*, &c. *To our Truſty and Well-beloved Couſin*, Edward, *Earl of* Glamorgan: *We repoſing great and ſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your approved Wiſdom and Fidelity, do, by theſe*

A.D. 1645 *Preſents (as firmly as under our Great Seal to all Intents and Purpoſes) authorize and give you Power to treat and conclude with the Confederate* Roman Catholicks *in our Kingdom of* Ireland: *If upon neceſſity any thing be condeſcended to, wherein our Lieutenant cannot ſo well be ſeen, as not fit for us, for the preſent, publickly to own; therefore We charge you to proceed, according to this our Warrant, with all poſſible Secrecy; and whatever you ſhall engage your ſelf upon, ſuch valuable Conſiderations as you in your Judgment ſhall deem fit, we promiſe, in the Word of a* King *and* Chriſtian, *to ratifie and perform the ſame, of that which ſhall be granted by you, and under our Hand and Seal, the Confederate* Catholicks *having, by their Supplies, teſtified their Zeal to Our Service. And this ſhall be, in each Particular, to you a ſufficient Warrant.*

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the twentieth Day of *May*, 20 *Car.*

Glamorgan had brought his Buſineſs to ſome Iſſue, when State-Reaſons enforced *Ormond*, and *Digby*, and the Council, to impriſon him; but this gave Diſtaſte to the *Iriſh*, who thereupon ſuſpected double Dealings, and ſo neither ſent over the promiſed 10000 Men, nor any Aid to *Weſtcheſter*, tho' *Glamorgan* was quickly releaſed upon the Bail of ſix or eight *Iriſh* Peers. The Parliament hereupon was ſo incenſed, that they refuſed either to treat with the King, or to admit him to come to *London*, (ſee *Baker*, f. 473.) or this Buſineſs to end here; but rendred all the King's ſubſequent Treaties with the Parliament ſuſpected, and the end of attaining the King's Propoſitions more difficult. And here you may ſee how this King would proſtitute his Honour and Chriſtianity, contrary to what he ſo often profeſſed, not only to the Parliament, but alſo to the Duke of *Ormond*, his own Party.

Now Things every where go to wreck on the King's ſide; *Dartmouth* was ſurrendred to *Fairfax*, by Sir *Hugh Pollard* the Governor; Sir *William Vaughan* with ſuch Forces as he could get together, marching to relieve *Cheſter*, was utterly routed by the Parliament's Forces, and *Cheſter* ſurrendred to Sir *William Brereton*;

Brereton; *Belvoir* Caſtle in *Leiceſterſhire* (the Seat of the Earls of *Rutland*) was ſurrendred to General *Pointz* by Sir *Gervais Lucas* the Governor; my Lord *Hopton* is beaten by *Fairfax*, in *Devonſhire*, whereupon *Hopton* accepted of Terms from *Fairfax*, and disbanded his Army, and went into *France*: After which all the Garriſons in *Cornwal* ſurrendred to *Fairfax*, except *Pendennis* Caſtle and St. *Michael's Mount*: *Latham-Houſe*, which the Counteſs of *Derby* bravely defended two Years againſt the Parliament, was ſurrendred in *December*, and *Baſing-Houſe* was taken by Storm: And that which compleated the Ruin of all the King's Affairs in *England*, was the Surprize and Defeat of my Lord *Aſtley* at *Donnington* near *Stow* on the *Wold*, where he was taken Priſoner the 21ſt of *March*; and when he was a Priſoner, he told ſome of the Parliament Officers, *You have done your Work, and may go play, unleſs you fall out among your ſelves.* A. Reg. 22.

Anno Reg. 22. *An. Dom.* 1646.

In this deſperate State of the King's Affairs in *England*, the King's Expectations in *Scotland* were much fallen too: For after the Defeat of my Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, the *Scots* had little to do in the North; ſo as General *Leſley* had leiſure to march to *Newark* with his Foot to join Major General *Pointz*, who had block'd it up; and *David Leſley* with the Horſe, to march into *Scotland*, where *Montroſs* his Men, after he had beaten General *Bailey* at *Philipſhaugh*, being full of Plunder, and being a Voluntier Army, and not under regular Diſcipline, disbanded in great Numbers and returned home, when *David Leſley* ſet upon the Remainder and routed them, and gave Quarter to the reſt, whom yet he murdered in cold Blood. Here you may ſee the different Tempers of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Nation, for you find no ſuch Acts done in *England* in the Heats of all the War.

In all the War in *Scotland* the Marquiſs of *Huntley* obſtinately refuſed to join with *Montroſs*; and after the Defeat of *Montroſs*'s Foot, *Montroſs* went in Perſon to entreat *Huntley* to join in their common Intereſt

*A.D.*1646 againſt the *Kirk*, which *Huntley* not only refuſed, but would not deign to ſee *Montroſs*, [yet this did *Huntley* no good, for after *Montroſs*'s Army was diſbanded, the *Kirk*-Party cut off his Head] ſo as *Montroſs* was forced to retreat into the *Highlands*, and act defenſively.

Exeter upon the 13th of *April* ſurrenders to *Fairfax*, which was followed by *Barnſtable* Town and Fort, St. *Michael*'s Mount, *Dunſtan* Caſtle, *Woodſtock*, and other Places of leſs Note.

Sir *Thomas Glenham* having honourably defended *York* and *Carliſle*, the King thought no other ſo fit to be Governor of *Oxford* as he, which being block'd up by the Parliament Forces, the King thought himſelf in no Security in it; for the Parliament refuſed to admit him to come to *London*, unleſs he ſigned their Propoſitions. Now the *French* Ambaſſador in the *Scots* Quarters adviſed the King to throw himſelf into the *Scots* Power; herein you may obſerve, that tho' *Richlieu* were dead, yet *Mazarine* continued the Correſpondence between *France* and *Scotland*, which yet were Penſioners to *France*.

This being *Hobſon*'s Choice, the King only accompanied by one *Hudſon* a Miniſter, and Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, throws himſelf into the Power of the *Scots*, then beſieging *Newark*, this was the fifth of *May*.

Thus this poor Prince, to avoid his preſent Condition, ſeeks Protection from thoſe which brought him into it; and having him in their Power, they reſolve to make a double Market of him, *viz.* To have him to order *Montroſs* to diſband his Army, and then to retire out of *Scotland*, and afterwards ſell him to the Parliament for ſo much as they could get: that of *Montroſs*, it was no ſooner aſked than granted, but ſoon after he was gone, the Covenanters ſeize *Huntley*, and cut off his Head; the Parliament too deſire the King to give Order for the *Engliſh* Garriſons to ſurrender, which he granted; ſo here we end the Wars in *England* and *Scotland* between the King and Parliament at preſent. And now you'll ſee how the ending of theſe War was the beginning of the Ruin of the Parliament and *Scots* Covenanters; for the *Scots* having got their Ends by *Montroſs* his diſband'ng

banding his Army, yet the Bargain for the Sale of the King being a mighty Matter to the *Scots*, required a longer Time, and they would not loſe one *Scotiſh* Pound they could get for him; and therefore, tho' the King put himſelf into the Power of the *Scots* the 5th of *May* 1646, yet the Bargain was not concluded till *January* following, and then they, fluſh of Money, return Home, finding all Things in Peace now *Montroſs* is gone; and the Parliament having bought the King, confine him to *Holdenby-Houſe*, a Houſe of the King's in *Northamptonſhire*, under the Guard of a ſelect Company of Covenanters, whereof Sir *John Cooke*, Secretary *Cooke*'s Son, was one. *A. Reg.* 22.

Thus this Prince, who before had ſhifted the worthy Members of Parliament from one Priſon to another, that they might have no Benefit of their *Habeas Corpus*'s, and the Conſtables of *Hertfordſhire* from one Meſſenger to another, is himſelf ſhifted a Priſoner from one Place to another, without any hope of an *Habeas Corpus*: He that before, by his abſolute Will and Pleaſure would without any Law ſeize his Subjects Goods, and commit them to Priſon, cannot now enjoy his own Eſtate in his own Houſe: He that before arbitrarily raiſed Ship-Money, has not now one Ship to command.

One would think the Covenanters had their Game ſure enough, now thoſe in *Scotland* had got rid of *Montroſs*, and full of Money, and thoſe in *England* had got the King in their Power, and the King's Army utterly ſubdued, and both Kingdoms united into one *ſolemn League and Covenant*; ſo that both may ſing their *Requiem* for many Years. But ſee the Inſtability of human Affairs, where they are not founded in Truth and Righteouſneſs; for the *Scots* Directory, Catechiſm and Government, ſorted as ill with the *Engliſh* Genius, as *Laud*'s Liturgy, Canons, and High Commiſſion, did with the *Scots*; and the rigid Execution of them as inſolent and tyrannical, as the Proceedings in the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion; and theſe being general, equally offended all; and tho' the *Cavalier* Party being under the Hatches, ſaid little, yet the Brawls and Inveſtives between the *Preſbyterians* and other Parties

A.D.1646 were as fierce as between the *Arminians* and *Orthodox* in *Laud*'s Time, ſo that Things were not like to continue long at this rate.

The Parliament having the King now in their Power, the *Scots* gone, yet *Ireland* (I mean the *Engliſh* Intereſt in it) in a very deplorable State, and being apprehenſive of the Temper of the Army, whoſe Principles were *Anti-Presbyterian*; and that they might in ſome meaſure eaſe the Country of maintaining the whole Army, reſolved that 12000 Men ſhould be ſent over thither, to be commanded by Major General *Skippon*; and 6000 Horſe, 2000 Dragoons, and 6000 Foot, to be kept up in *England*, and commanded by *Fairfax*.

Cromwell was aware of what the Members deſigned, and the Members were as jealous of *Cromwell*, and therefore would not diſpenſe with the *Self-denying Ordinance*, that he ſhould be in the Army; however, *Cromwell* had his Agents in it, and by the Miniſters and other zealous *Independants*, foment their Jealouſies, that the Parliament deſigned to disband them without Payment of their Arrears; and in this Ferment they choſe two out of every Regiment, which they called *Adjutators*, to whom they gave Power to hold Councils, and judge what was fit to be done for the common Good. Theſe were called *Levellers*, who cried up *Liberty, and the Power of the People*, and aſſumed to themſelves a Power in their Councils above what the Colonels claimed.

The Proceedings of the *Adjutators* ſtartled the Parliament, and in a great meaſure the Colonels and Officers of the Army; ſo that unleſs *Cromwell* appeared, and by his Authority reſtrained the Licence which the *Adjutators* aſſumed, they ſat very looſe in their Places, and upon a Debate in the Houſe, how to ſuppreſs the *Adjutators*, *Cromwell* profeſſed, and called God to witneſs, *That he was certain the Soldiers would at the firſt Word of his Command, if he were among them, throw down their Arms at the Parliament's Feet; and ſolemnly ſwore, that he rather wiſhed himſelf and his whole Family Burnt, than that the Army ſhould break out into Sedition.* And the Houſe had ſo little Wit as to believe him, and ſo ſent him down to appeaſe the Army.

Cromwell ſuppreſſe the Levellers.

Here-

Hereupon *Cromwell* order'd a general Muſter of the Army upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, where the Army was divided, and the *Levelling Party* refuſed to come under his Command; whereupon he ſent to them to ſend ſome to treat of their Grievances, and when they came, *Cromwell* with an undaunted Boldneſs piſtoll'd three of the moſt forward of them, and ſeized the reſt, and then the *Levelling* Part of the Army ſubmitted. *A. Reg.* 22.

The Sectaries, of which the Army was compoſed, tho' they had the Sword in their Hands, yet had no Face of Authority to recur to, the Presbyterian Members in both Houſes being three to one; they therefore ſend Cornet *Joyce* with a Party of Horſe to *Holdenby*, who the 4th of *June* 1647, (which was in leſs than four Months after the Members had brought the King thither) take the King out of the Parliament-Commiſſioners Power, and keep him in the Army. *The King a Priſoner.*

And now this poor Prince (for ſo he may be truly called, ſince he, who before by his abſolute Will and Pleaſure would take his Subjects Eſtates, has now no Power to get his own) is fallen into the Hands of another ſort of Flatterers than the former, yet theſe intended him no more good than the other; at firſt they ſeem to lament the hard Conditions the Members impoſe upon him, not only in his Liberty, but in keeping him from his Children and Friends, and allow him both, profeſſing they would never lay down their Arms until they had put the Scepter into his Hands, and procured better Conditions for his Friends.

In order hereunto, they ſeem to join the King's Intereſt with theirs; and in their Declaration for Redreſs of Grievances, declare for the King and People, and that the Members prefix a certain Time for their ſitting, ſo that a new Parliament may be called, and thereby the Nation ſettled upon ſure Foundations.

Here you may obſerve a new Face of Affairs: And now the Army, which was rais'd only to do the Parliament's Journey-work, would only allow the Members a certain Time for their ſitting. And be-

cauſe

A.D. 1646 cauſe *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Lewis*, *Clotworthy*, *Waller*, *Maynard*, *Maſſey*, *Glyn*, *Long*, *Harley*, and *Nichols*, were the leading Men in the Houſe of Commons for eſtabliſhing the Covenant, and disbanding the Army, the Army charge them with High-Treaſon; the Charge againſt them was Cant, after the Mode of the Times, *That they obſtructed the Buſineſs of* Ireland; *to have acted againſt the Army, and againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, and were Obſtructers of Juſtice.*

Army impeach divers of the leading Members.

Here you may ſee into what a Labyrinth of Diſtraction and Confuſion Men run, when they forſake the Ways of Juſtice and Righteouſneſs: For when Mr. *Hollis* and Colonel *Long*, 4 *Car.* were impriſoned for performing the Truſt repoſed in them by their Country, they had the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience for their Support, and the known Laws for their Protection; and here they knew what to truſt to, and ſo they inſiſted upon the Laws, and by them in due Time were delivered from their Impriſonment; but now the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation were broken down, and they charged at random by the Army, had no Defence to recur to, but for Safeguard fled beyond Sea. What became of Colonel *Long* I cannot tell, but Mr. *Hollis* never return'd till after King *Charles* the Second's Reſtoration; and Sir *Philip Stapleton* being ſuſpected to have the *Plague*, was ſhut out of *Calais*, and 'twas ſaid dy'd in a *Ditch*.

What Thanks now had *Stapleton*, *Waller*, and *Maſſey*, for all their valiant Services to the Parliament, whilſt *Oliver* was whiſtling to his *Cambridge Team* of Committee-Men, a new Tune of the way of *Ordinances*, *Diſpenſations*, *Righteouſneſs*, and *Providence*? and whereto can they go to find Relief? *Glyn* had ſo little Wit, as to believe the *Law* would be his Protection, and ſo did abide a Trial; but he was miſtaken in his Meaſures; for tho' he defended himſelf with much Prudence, yet he was diſcharged from being a Member, and committed to the *Tower* during their Pleaſure. But the Houſe proceeded higher againſt *Maynard*, and order'd an Impeachment of High Treaſon to be drawn up againſt him; and ordered *Nichols* to be taken into Cuſtody, but he eſcaped from the Meſſenger.

The

The *Engliſh* Covenanters could not be ſo purblind, as not to ſee whereto this tended; and were madded that they which had begun the War, and by the Aid of their Brethren of *Scotland*, were in a fair Poſſibility of bringing it to their Deſires againſt the King, ſhould not only be outed of their conceived Glory and Reward by theſe Upſtarts of the Army, but alſo the principal of them to be perſecuted and deſtroyed for continuing firm to their Gude Cauſe. *A. Reg.* 22. *Diſturbances upon it.*

The Militia of *London* was ſettled upon the 4th of *May*, in the Management of the *Presbyterians*, who were very induſtrious in compleating their Companies, both of the Trained-Bands and Militia; but this was counter to the Deſign of the Army, and judged to be a Conſpiracy againſt it: Whereupon *Fairfax* (who bore the Name, tho' *Cromwell* rul'd all) upon the 10th of *June* ſent a Letter to the Parliament, *That the Militia of the City of* London *might be put into the Hands of Perſons that were better affected to the Army*: Which the Commons tamely ſubmitted to; and upon the 23d of *July* repealed the Ordinance of the 4th of *May*.

Hereupon the City met in Common-Council, and reſolved to petition the Commons againſt it, which they did, and upon the 26th, by the Sheriffs, and ſome of the Common-Council, deliver'd a Petition to the Commons: And about an Hour after, about 1000 Apprentices deliver'd another Petition, complaining, *That to order the City's Militia was the City's Birth-right, belonging to them by Charters confirmed in Parliament; for Defence whereof, they had adventured their Lives as far as the Army: And deſired that the Militia might be put again into the ſame Hands in which it was put with the Parliament's and City's Conſent, by the Ordinance of the 4th of* May.

Upon the reading of this Petition, the Lords revoked the Ordinance of the 23d of *July*, and renewed that of the 4th of *May*, and ſent it down to the Commons for their Conſent, and kept back ſome of the Commons, till the Members within agreed with the Lords, and then they returned: And after ſome time, they, or ſome others, upon the riſing of the Houſe, took the Speaker and thruſt him back into

A.D.1646 into the Chair, and there kept him and the Members, till they enforced them to paſs a Vote, *That the King ſhould come to* London: And then both Houſes adjourned for four Days.

In this Interval, the Members who favoured the Army, and the Speakers of both Houſes went to it, and complained of the Violences upon the Parliament: And after the four Days Adjournment, the Houſes met, and the Lords choſe my Lord *Hunſdon* their Speaker, and the Commons Mr. *Henry Pelham*, and paſſed theſe Votes: 1. *That the King ſhould come to* London. 2. *That the Militia of* London *ſhould be authorized to raiſe Forces for the Defence of the City.* 3. *That Power be given to the ſame Militia to chooſe a General.* And, 4. *That the* 11 *Members impeached by the Army ſhould take their Seats in Parliament.*

Votes of the Commons.

The Citizens armed with theſe Powers, proceed to raiſe Forces, under the Command of *Waller*, *Maſſey*, and *Pointz*; but theſe, tho' numerous, being ſuddenly raiſed, 'twas like no great Oppoſition could be made againſt an old experienc'd, and victorious Army: Beſides, the Borough of *Southwark* was generally for the Army; and a Party of the Army ſeized upon the *Block-Houſe* at *Graveſend*, and block'd up the City by Water towards the Eaſt, and the Army towards the Weſt.

The Aldermen and Common-Council of the City now deſert their three Generals, and ſent to *Fairfax* for a Pacification; which he granted them upon theſe Terms: 1. *That they ſhould deſert the Parliament then ſitting, and the* 11 *Members.* 2. *That they ſhould recall their Declaration lately divulged.* 3. *That they ſhould relinquiſh their preſent Militia.* 4. *That they ſhould deliver up to the General, all their Forts, and the Tower of* London. 5. *That they ſhould diſband all the Forces they had lately raiſed, and do all Things elſe which were neceſſary for the Publick Tranquility:* So the Speakers and Members which had run to the Army returned, and annulled all the Acts and Orders which had paſſed ſince the 26th of *July* laſt.

London's Pacification with General Fairfax.

Here obſerve, That the Members which did not run to the Army, but met in Time and Place according to that Adjournment, were as much a Parliament,

ment, as thoſe which continued at *Weſtminſter* after the King left them; and the Members which met at *Oxford* were as much a Parliament as thoſe which met after they were reſtored by the Army. *A. Reg.* 22.

When the Members were returned, the Commons voted an Impeachment of High Treaſon againſt the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln*, and *Middleſex*, and the Lords *Berkley*, *Hunſdon*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and *Maynard*; ſuch a Stalking-Horſe was Treaſon now made, and the Crime no more than what themſelves had done after the King left them. And Sir *John Gage*, the Lord-Mayor, Alderman *Bunce*, *Langham*, *Cullam*, and *Adams*, were committed to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon, for *Forcing the Parliament*. But if this were Treaſon in them, before the next Year goes round, you'll ſee *Cromwell* out-treaſon this a Bar and half.

During theſe Diſcords and Confuſions, the *Scots* were in great Diſguſt. That the Work of Reformation, which united both Kingdoms in Adherence to their Solemn League and Covenant, was in danger to be overthrown by the over-ſpreading of Hereſy and Schiſm, which was ſo much more lamented, by how much after their Bargain and Sale of the King, both Houſes voted, *That if the King refuſed to paſs Propoſitions for Peace, they will do nothing which may break the Union and Affection of both Kingdoms, but preſerve the ſame.* Scots diſcontented.

Now both Factions, Parliament and Army, ſeem to court the King; and the Parliament ſent Propoſitions of Peace to him at *Hampton-Court*.

But now the *Myſtery of Iniquity* works; for *Cromwell* was as fearful the King ſhould agree with the Parliament, as the King was unwilling to agree to them; and therefore gave Inſtructions to the Commiſſioners, *That if the King would aſſent to Propoſitions lower than thoſe of the Parliament, that the Army would ſettle him again in his Throne.* Hereupon the King returned Anſwer to the Parliament, *That he waved now the Propoſitions ſent to him, or any Treaty upon them, and flies to the Propoſals of the Army, urges a Treaty upon them, and ſuch as he ſhall make; profeſſes he will give Satisfaction to ſettle the Proteſtant Religion, with Liberty to tender Conſciences; to ſecure the Laws, Liberty and Property, and* Cromwell's Craft

Privileges

A.D.1647 *Privileges of Parliament; and of thoſe concerning* Scotland, *he will treat apart with the* Scots *Commiſſioners.*

Upon the reading of the King's Anſwer, a Day was appointed by either Houſe to conſider of it; and that in the mean Time it be communicated to the *Scots* Commiſſioners.

There was a Report at that Time, and ſo yet continues, That *Cromwell* made a private Article with the King, *That if the King cloſed with the Propoſitions of the Army,* Cromwell *ſhould be advanced to a Degree higher than any other, as* Vicar-General *of* England, *as* Cromwell *was in the Reign of* Henry 8.

But the King was ſo Uxorious, that he would do nothing without communicating it to the Queen; and wrote to her, *That tho' he aſſented to the Army's Propoſals, yet if by aſſenting to them he could procure Peace, it would be eaſier then to take off* Cromwell *than now he was the Head that govern'd the Army.*

Cromwell, who had his Spies upon every Motion of the King, intercepts theſe Letters, and reſolved never to truſt the King again: yet doubted that he could not manage his Deſigns, if the King were ſo near the Parliament and City as *Hampton-Court*; therefore *Cromwell* ſent to the King, *That he was in no Safety at* Hampton-Court, *by reaſon of the Hatred which the Adjutators had to him, and that he would be in more Safety in the Iſle of* Wight. Hereupon the King, upon the 11th of *November* (while the Parliament and *Scots* Commiſſioners were debating the King's Anſwer to their Propoſitions) at Night made his Eſcape, having Poſt-Horſes, and a Ship provided for him at *Southampton*, accompanied only with Sir *John Berkley*, Colonel *Leg*, and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and came to the Iſle of *Wight*; which would morally have been impoſſible, if *Cromwell* and his Agents had not put the King upon it.

But how concealedly ſoever *Cromwell* and his Son-in-Law *Ireton* had carried the Buſineſs of the King's Eſcape to the Iſle of *Wight*, yet the Adjutators had ſome Jealouſy upon them, that they deſign'd to have the King eſtabliſh'd; and poſſeſt the Soldiers with much Prejudice againſt them. *Fairfax* doubting the Event of theſe Practices, diſmiſt the Adjutators to their ſeveral Regiments, and ſent moſt of their Officers to the

their ſeveral Charges, and appointed a General Rendezvouz of the Army at *Cork-buſh-field*, between *Hertford* and *Ware*, upon the 14th; which the Adjutators endeavour'd to have prevented. The next Day many Soldiers, of five whole Regiments, mutiny'd againſt their Officers, and wore Marks of Diſtinction to be known from the reſt. *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and ſome other of the Officers, ſtruck at by the Adjutators, were very active in ſuppreſſing them, and ſeized upon ſome of the principal Mutineers, and one or two of them were ſhot before their Troops were reduc'd; and moſt of the Mutineers, and the Officers which favour'd them, were tried at Court-Martials, and caſhier'd; and three of them condemn'd to die. And for this *Cromwell* had the Thanks of the Houſe: but it will not be long before they ſhall find little Joy of it. *A. Reg.* 23

From the Iſle of *Wight*, the King, upon *October* the 18th, ſent to the Members for a perſonal Treaty of Peace at *London*; which, after much Debate, was agreed to, upon theſe four Preliminaries. 1. An Act *for Raiſing, Settling, and Maintaining Forces by Sea and Land, within the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominion of* Wales. 2. An Act *for recalling all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations againſt the Parliament, or thoſe who had adhered to them.* 3. An Act, *That thoſe Peers who were made after the Great Seal was carried from the Parliament, may be made uncapable of Sitting in the Houſe of Peers.* 4. *That Power may be given to the Houſes, to adjourn as they ſhall think fit.* *Preliminaries of the Iſle of Wight Treaty.*

The King, it may be, not knowing *Cromwell* had intercepted his Letters to the Queen, and ſo truſting to *Cromwell*'s Promiſes, and the *Scots* Commiſſioners flatly proteſting againſt theſe Preliminaries, as oppoſite to Religion, the Crown, and Agreement of the Kingdoms, refuſed to ſign any Propoſitions till a Peace was made, which might comprehend all Intereſts. Which had no other Effects, than that the Lords and Commons Voted, 1. *That they will make no further Applications or Addreſſes to the King.* 2. *That no Addreſſes or Applications be made to the King by any Perſon whatſoever, without Leave from both Houſes.* 3. *That the Perſon or Perſons that ſhall make Breach of this Order, ſhall* *Votes of Non Addreſſes to the King.*

A.D.1647 *ſhall incur the Penalty of High-Treaſon.* 4. *That they will receive no more Meſſages from the King; and that no Perſon do preſume to bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either Houſes of Parliament, or any other Perſon.* But theſe Votes were too hot to hold long.

Theſe Votes were ſo pleaſing to the Army, that it was declar'd by a Council of War the 17th of *January, That they reſolved to endeavour to preſerve the Peerage and Rights, and the Rights of the Peers of* England, *notwithſtanding any Scandals upon them to the contrary.* Yet within little more than a Year, the *Rump*, ſet up by the Army, ſhall turn them out of Doors, as dangerous and uſeleſs.

Here ſee what a Labyrinth Men run into when they forſake the Paths of Juſtice! for as *Socrates* ſays, *Plato Eutiphro, If Men in Diſſenſion will not ſubmit to ſome certain Rule which may determine them, their Diſſenſions will be endleſs; and that the Will of the Gods, if it be divided, cannot be the Rule to determine Juſtice; for Men in obeying one God, may diſobey another.*

Reflections on theſe Circumſtances. The King would gladly have had the Law to have determined the Controverſies; for this would have veſted him in his Royal Power, and by the 18th of *Henry* VII. would have juſtify'd all his Subjects who fought for him. But the Members would not ſubmit to this, being to diveſt themſelves of the Power they thought they had in their Hands; nor the *Scots*, becauſe their Solemn League and Covenant was enacted by no Law in *England*; nor leaſt of all would it pleaſe the Army, who nouriſhed Deſigns againſt the King, Members, and *Scots*.

To ſuch a deplorable State is this poor King and Kingdom fall'n, paſt all human Relief! yet it's admirable, to conſider how divine Juſtice purſued the Cauſers of it, even in the Series by which they were promoted. The King, who would not have the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation to be the Rules of his Subjects Obedience, but his Prerogative, and Abſolute Will and Pleaſure, cannot now by it command one Servant: He who before, againſt Law, committed ſo many of his beſt Subjects cloſe Priſoners, whereof ſeveral died in Priſon, for aſſerting his Subjects Rights, without any Benefit of Law,

is now, by his Subjects, made cloſe Priſoner againſt Law, and without any Benefit of it: He who before diſſolved four Parliaments, becauſe they in all Dutiful Ways would have addreſſed unto him to be reconciled to his Subjects, is now denied, under Penalty of High-Treaſon, to have any Addreſs made to him by any of his Subjects: He who before had ſo many Foreſts for his Pleaſure, yet not contented with what the Law and his Anceſtors had left, but would break the Bounds of them, that his Subjects Inheritance might become a Prey to wild Beaſts, has not now a Horſe, Hound, or Beaſt, to take Pleaſure in. But theſe Things will not ſtay here; for it is the unhappy Fate of Princes, rarely in their eclining State to ſtay till they fall to the Bottom. *A. Reg.* 24.

In this Confuſion the Nation began to forget the Times under the King's Government, now they ſaw no end of theſe: And tho' the *Eſſex*-Men, who had the Bounds of their Foreſts broke down, and were the firſt who petition'd the Parliament to redreſs Grievances, and bring Delinquents to condign Puniſhment, yet they are now the firſt who petition the Commons for a Perſonal Treaty with the King, and then the *Surrey*-Men, but were differently received, and ſome of the *Surrey*-Men kill'd. This was in *May*, 1648.

The *Scots* too, offended that they and their Solemn League and Covenant were not taken notice of in the Preliminary Treaty with the King, call a Parliament, and order the Raiſing an Army to deliver the King out of Priſon.

The rude Entertainment of the *Eſſex* and *Surrey*-Men, was ſo far from quelling them, that they riſe in Arms in *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Wales*, and the *North*, and declare for the King and People: Sir *William Batton* too, who was Vice-Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet, goes over to Prince *Charles* with 17 Men of War, and declare for the King, having ſet *Rainsborough* (made Admiral by the Army) on Shore. This was in *May* and *June*, and ſoon after, *viz.* in *June*, the *Surrey*-Men riſe, being headed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother the Lord *Francis*, with the Earl of *Holland*. *New Inſurrections*

*A.D.*1648 But it was decreed, That this Prince, who for 15 Years had violated the Laws and Conſtitutions of this Nation, and without any Law or juſt Reaſon had ſo often impriſoned his beſt Subjects for endeavouring to reconcile him to his Subjects, ſhould now himſelf, being made a Priſoner againſt Law, find no Relief by Law, or Endeavours of his Loyal Subjects.

All unſucceſsful againſt the Parliament.

For *Cromwell* ſends *Horton* into *Wales*, againſt Major General *Laughorn*, and Colonel *Poyer*, who headed the *Welch*, and had ſeized *Pembrook* and *Tenby-Caſtles*: *Fairfax* marches into *Kent*, and *Rathsborough* into the *North*, where the *Northern*-Men had ſeized *Pontfract-Caſtle*; and the Members reſtore the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral, and fit out a Fleet under him, to ſuppreſs that which joined the Prince of *Wales*.

Horton beats the *Welch*, and took *Laughorn* and *Poyer* Priſoners, and beſieges and takes *Pembrook* and *Tenby*; but whilſt he beſieged theſe, *Hamilton*, who the Year before was releaſed from being a Priſoner in *Pendennis-Caſtle* by the King, for holding Correſpondence with the Covenanters while he was Commiſſioner, now comes into *England*, to diſcharge the King from his Impriſonment, with a numerous Army of *Scots*, which Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Major General *Maſſey*, and many *Engliſh* join; againſt theſe, *Cromwell*, after the Surrender of *Pembrook* and *Tenby*, marches, and utterly routs them, and takes *Hamilton* Priſoner.

Nor were the Fate of the *Kentiſh*, *Eſſex*, and *Suffolk*-Men better; for *Fairfax* fights, and beats the *Kentiſh*-Men at *Maidſtone*; the Remainder, under my Lord *Goring* (whom the King had made Earl of *Norwich*) croſs the *Thames* at *Greenwich*, and join the *Eſſex*-Men, headed by Sir *Charles Lucas*, and march to *Colcheſter*, where my Lord *Capel*, and many *Suffolk*-Men, joined them: *Fairfax* purſues them, and after a ſtubborn Siege of 11 Weeks, forces it to ſurrender, being reduced to extream Famine; and after cauſed Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*, to be ſhot to Death.

Equal to this, was the Succeſs of the *Surrey*-Men; for they were routed by Sir *Michael Leveſly*, and my Lord *Francis* killed near *Kingſton*: But the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Holland*, with thoſe which were eſcaped, fled over *Kingſton-Bridge*, and were purſued

purſued by Colonel *Scroop*, and overtaken at *St. Neots*, where Major General *Dalbier* is killed, the Earl of *Holland* taken Priſoner, but the Duke of *Buckingham* eſcaped. *A. Reg.* 24.

But the *Northern*-Men, beſieged in *Pontfract-Caſtle*, are not ſo eaſily ſubdu'd; on the contrary, a Party of about 30 Horſe break through the Beſiegers, and ſurprize *Rainsborough* in his Bed at *Doncaſter*, about 12 Miles from *Pontfract*, and kill him, becauſe he refuſed to be carried off a Priſoner; but *Pure Famine* at laſt forced the Beſieged to ſurrender.

The revolted Fleet, now commanded by the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, partly cajol'd by the Earl of *Warwick*, their former Admiral, and unwilling to forſake their Country, Wives and Children, in great part return to the Parliament; the reſt were after purſued by *Blake* and *Popham* to *Ireland*, from thence to *Portugal*; from whence they were forced by *Blake* to *Carthagena*, where *Blake* run the Princes Ships on Shore; yet the Princes having then but three Ships left, and having no Port in *Europe* to protect them, ſeek for one in the *Weſt-Indies*, where Prince *Maurice* is loſt in a Hurricane; and Prince *Rupert* after got into *France*, and ſold the Remainder of this miſerable Fleet, being two tatter'd Ships, to *Mazarine*, to fit out himſelf for other Adventures.

Whilſt the Army was thus buſied abroad, the Members having got Poſſeſſion of the Fleet, and the City of *London* being well affected to them, they join with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, and reſcind the Votes of Non-Addreſſes to the King; and in *September* appoint a Conference with the King at *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, to continue for 40 Days; and to that purpoſe, take the King out of Priſon, and allow him the Liberty of the Iſland; and the King upon the Matter, with Reluctancy enough, grants the *Scots* and Members their own Demands.

But neither the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation, nor the Endeavours of his Loyal Subjects, nor the joint Deſires of the *Scots* and Members, who had brought the King to this Condition, could protect this unhappy Prince from his approaching Ruin: for the Army, every where victorious over the *Scots*

A. D. 1648 and *Royaliſts*, draw together, and make a *Remonſtrance* againſt all Peace with the King; that Juſtice may be done upon him; that the Crown and Church-Lands be ſold to pay their Army, and that the preſent Parliament be diſſolved, and another called, which they preſent to the Members the 20th of *November*. And herein *Cromwell* and his Son-in-law *Ireton* were the principal Promoters.

But the Members were intent upon the King's Anſwer to their Propoſitions, and laid aſide the Army's Remonſtrance, which they take as a ſlighting of them, and then ſeized the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, and make him Priſoner in *Hurſt-Caſtle*, an unhealthy Place; and march to *London*, putting Garriſons into *Whitehall*, Noblemens Houſes, and poſted themſelves about the *Palace-Yard*.

King's Conceſſions voted a Ground for Peace, but the Parliament forced.

Notwithſtanding the Members met upon the firſt of *December*, and vote the King's Conceſſions to be a ſufficient Ground for a Peace; and then adjourn for a Week: But when they were to meet again, they found all the Avenues to the Houſe beſet with Soldiers, who exclude all that were not of their Faction from entering the Houſe, which were not one fourth part, and made the Reſidue Priſoners. So that if the Mayor, Sir *John Gage*, and the Aldermen his Brethren, were guilty of High Treaſon for committing a Force upon the Parliament, *viz.* for continuing the Militia of *London* in the City the Year before, how much more was it High-Treaſon in *Cromwell* and his Agents, to keep back by force three fourths of the Members from entering the Houſe, and making them Priſoners, that the Rump of the reſt might do his Journey-work?

So farewel *Presbytery*, and all the *Scotiſh* Trumpery in *England*: nor ſhall theſe ſecluded Members ever meet more, but to diſſolve themſelves, and make room for another Parliament, which ſhall legally perſecute them, and their *Solemn League and Covenant*, as much as they by it perſecuted the King, and their fellow Subjects, againſt Law. Nor was *Presbytery* much longer liv'd in *Scotland*, where they ſhall never ſee it reſtored by this now Race of Kings, which ſhall plague them with the Exerciſe of Archbiſhops and

and Biſhops, which by their Covenant they are ſworn to aboliſh; and cut off the Head of the principal of their Faction, allowing them as little place for the Exerciſe of *Presbytery*, as they now do the *Epiſcopal Party*. *A. Reg.* 24.

Having, tho' but in Epitome, ſeen the various Accidents in War, whereby the King came to be in this Diſtreſs, before we declare his End, and the manner of it, it's fit, in ſhort, to take notice of the ſeveral Treaties of Peace between the King and Parliament, and the Improbability of the good Succeſs in any of them.

The firſt Propoſitions for Peace which the Parliament ſent to the King, was *June* the 2d, when the King was at *York*, before the War broke out, which were nineteen.

In theſe Propoſitions, no mention is made either of the *Scots* Covenant, or aboliſhing Epiſcopacy; yet ſome of them were ſo inconſiſtent with *Monarchy*, and Arbitrary in the Parliament, as the King in Honour and Conſcience could not condeſcend to them.

The King could not in Honour or Conſcience condeſcend to the ninth, fifteenth and ſixteenth Propoſitions, to ſettle the *Militia* as the Parliament have ordered (*without the King*) That all Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom be diſpoſed of by the Parliament (*viz. The Houſes*) and that the King diſcharge all his Guards and Forces, and not to raiſe any but in caſe of actual Rebellion. *But how could this be done by the King, when the Militia and Forts of the Kingdom were in the Power of the Houſes?*

So here the King, who by Virtue of his Office, is obliged to preſerve the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation, and to ſuppreſs all Diſturbers of them at Home, and to defend the Nation from all Foreign Invaſion, has no means to do any of them.

Objection. *But the King had ſo often violated the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation, by being armed with theſe Powers, that the Nation could be in no Safety, if they were continued in him.*

Anſwer. It's true, the Nation was in a very calamitous Eſtate herein: But if the Members had only made it their Buſineſs how to have reſtrained the

A.D.1648 King herein, and to have preſerved the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation, it would have had another Face than now, when the Members are ſetting up themſelves to do the ſame thing which they feared the King ſhould act.

I ſay, the King could not in Honour or Conſcience agree to the thirteenth Propoſition, *That the Juſtice of Parliament (viz.* the Members) *ſhould paſs upon all Delinquents, and they to appear and abide by their Cenſure:* For Delinquent is a Word unknown to our Laws, and ſo equivocal, that it may ſignify whatever the Members pleaſed.

So that if the King had agreed to theſe Propoſitions, he would have been a King that could neither have executed Juſtice, nor ſhewed Mercy; and the Houſes have unlimited Arbitrary Power to do whatever they pleaſed.

To the Propoſitions the King returns a ſharp Anſwer, *That the Houſes contrary to Law, had preſſed their Ordinances upon the People, wreſted from him the Command of the Militia; countenanced the Treaſon of* Hotham, *and had directed to the People Invectives againſt his Government, and aſperſed him with favouring Papiſts: and therefore proteſted, that if he were utterly vanquiſhed and a Priſoner, in a worſe Condition than any of his moſt unfortunate Predeceſſors had ever been reduced to, he would never ſtoop ſo low as to grant theſe Demands, and to make himſelf of a King of* England *a Duke of* Venice.

But when the Covenanters in *Scotland* ſent their Propoſitions to his Majeſty, he returned Anſwer, he would rather die than ſubmit to them, and from a King of *England* make himſelf a Duke of *Venice*: Yet the next Year, of his own Accord, went into *Scotland*, and by Act of Parliament granted the Covenanters all they deſired, (which yet perplext all the ſubſequent Treaties of Peace in *England*) and more, as the Caſe now ſtood.

The next Treaty was at *Oxford*, in the beginning of 1643, which broke off the 15th of *April*, and nothing agreed to upon this Score: The Parliament Commiſſioners gave ſuch Reaſons for the King to aſſent to one of the moſt material Points of the Treaty, that the King aſſented to it; but being 12

a

Clock at Night, it could not then be reduced to Writing, but he promiſed it ſhould next Morning, when the King gave them a Paper quite contrary; whereupon the Treaty broke off. See *Whitlock's Memoirs, f. 65. a. b.* The manner has been already related. *A. Reg. 24.*

For in the next Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which was in *December*, 1644, the Parliament not only inſiſted, that the King's Nephews, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, tho' Princes Foreign born, and ſo no Subjects to the King of *England*, but many of the principal Lords and Gentry, who aſſiſted the King in this War, and who by the 11 *Hen.* 7. 18. were protected for aſſiſting the King, ſhould be excepted out of Pardon by an Act of Indempnity; which if they had no Law to have protected them, yet the King could not in Conſcience have offer'd them up a Sacrifice for aſſiſting him.

But another Difficulty aroſe in this Treaty, which the Parliament would have impoſed upon the King, contrary to the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation, *viz.* To extirpate *Epiſcopacy*, and to impoſe the *Scots* Covenant and Directory upon the Nation, tho' the Biſhops were excluded their Sitting in the Houſe of Lords, by an Act in 1641, and none in Orders to exerciſe any Civil Office: So that the Houſes, not content with what had been already granted, but graſping at more, they loſt all; for in the firſt Parliament, *Car.* 2. they were reſtored to their Seats in Parliament again.

Objection. But if Epiſcopacy were *Jure Divino*, as the King was informed by his *Engliſh* Biſhops; and therefore the King could not in Conſcience ſubmit to the aboliſhing of it; then it is *Jure Divino* in *Scotland*, as well as *England*; and if the King of his own Accord, could go out of *England*, to aboliſh it in *Scotland*, Why ſhould the King, againſt the Advice of both Nations, not do the ſame in *England*?

Anſwer. *He that ſhall anſwer for all the Actions of this Prince, ſhall have a great Task: Nor can I give any other Anſwer to it, than that becauſe a Man has done an ill Act, it ſhall be a Precedent to him to do it again.*

But if the King ſhould have conſented to aboliſh Epiſcopacy in *England*, and ſet up Presbytery, I do

A. D. 1648 not ſee any Benefit the King could have reaped by it, according to the Covenanters Practice and Principles: For, if the *Scots* (after the King had aboliſhed Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, and ſet up Presbytery there, and that the *Scots* had thereupon promiſed all Obedience to the King in Time to come; and declared by Act of Parliament, *That it was deteſtable and damnable Treaſon in the higheſt Degree, for any of the* Scots *Nation, either conjunctly or ſingly, to levy Arms, or any Military Forces, upon any Pretence whatſoever, without the King's Command*) could raiſe Arms, unprovoked by the King, and againſt his expreſs Command, and invade *England*; why ſhould the *Engliſh* Covenanters, after the King ſhould have aboliſhed Epiſcopacy in *England*, be more obliged to perform any Agreement they made with the King in *England*, than the *Scots* Covenanters were in *Scotland*?

When the King deſired the *Scots* Parliament, upon the breaking out of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre and Rebellion, to aſſiſt him againſt the *Iriſh*, they refuſed, becauſe *Ireland* was not ſubject to *Scotland*; and tho' *England* be not ſubject to *Scotland*, yet the *Scots*, againſt the King's Command, can aſſiſt by Arms the Parliament againſt him: So that if the Covenant could entitle the *Scots* to be ſo falſe, perfidious and treacherous to the King after he had aboliſhed Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*; Why ſhould not this be a Precedent for the *Engliſh* Covenanters to be ſo in *England*, after the King ſhould aboliſh Epiſcopacy in it, and eſtabliſh Presbytery?

The Overtures for a Treaty at *Oxford* in *November*, 1644, preceded that at *Uxbridge*, whence, upon the King's Deſire, it was adjourned, and Paſſes reciprocally of ſafe Conduct were granted to Commiſſioners on both ſides to meet the 29th of *January*, wherein the Commiſſioners from *Scotland* were included.

The *Scots* Commiſſioners being included in this Treaty, you need not doubt but their principal Care ſhall be to eſtabliſh their Solemn League and Covenant, and the Presbyterian Government as firm in *England* as in *Scotland*; and to this end, *the three firſt Days were ſet apart for Religion, three other Days for the Militia, and three other days for the Settlement of* Ireland.

How

How humble ſoever the *Scots* were (if you'll take their Word) yet the firſt Debate aroſe between the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Commiſſioners concerning Precedence. *A. Reg.* 24.

But when the Buſineſs concerning Religion came to be debated, nothing leſs than that Presbytery was *Jure Divino*, would down with the *Scots*; nor was Epiſcopacy leſs *Jure Divino* by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners for Religion. But both theſe Aſſertions are falſe and blaſpemous, for *Jus Divinum* is ſo inſeparably inherent in God, as cannot be communicated to any Creature; and though God, by Divine Law or Inſtitution, did impower Biſhops and Prieſts with Epiſcopal and Prieſtly Power, to perform their Offices deſigned by God, for the planting and continuing the Goſpel; yet the *Jus Divinum*, from whence theſe Inſtitutions were derived, remains the ſame in God as before. As God by the Law of Nature gives Parents a Dominion over their Children, and Husbands over their Wives; yet the Divine Right which gives theſe Powers, is the ſame as before; and Parents and Husbands have no Divine Right hereby, but a Temporal Right by Nature, or the Law of Nature: So Biſhops and Prieſts have no Divine Right to exerciſe their Ghoſtly Powers, but a Spiritual Right given them by God's Law or Inſtitution, ſupernaturally or extraordinarily given. If Biſhops and Prieſts had a Divine Right, they might create Divine Laws, which *in Terminis* I believe none of them will affirm: However, you may ſee how the *Theologues* (as they call themſelves) impoſe by this Cant upon the World; and what endleſs Diſcords, Factions and Wars have been raiſed hereby, no Man converſant in Hiſtory can be ignorant of. The Principal whereof was Dr. *Steward*, and Mr. *Henderſon* and *Marſhall* for Presbytery; but the Zeal on both Parts being ſo obſtinate, as well as contradictory, would have taken up more than all their Time in theſe Broils, if a Stop had not been put to them upon the Motion of the Marquis of *Hartford*, on the King's Part; and the Earl of *Pembrook*, Mr. *Hollis*, and other Commiſſioners, on the Parliament's; that they might proceed upon the other Points of the Militia and *Ireland*.

The

A.D. 1648 The other Treaties at *New-Caſtle*, *Hampton-Court*, and the Iſle of *Wight*, we have taken notice of before. So that the King was as unſucceſsful in his Treaties, as in his Arms.

The *Cataſtrophe* of this Tragedy reſolves into the King himſelf; for this *Junto*, after called the *Rump Parliament*, having thus purged the Houſe, aſſume to themſelves the Supream Power of Ordering the *Engliſh* Affairs; confirm the Vote of *Non-Addreſſes* to the King, and raze the Votes of having a Conference with the King, and the Declaration that the King's Conceſſions were a ſufficient Ground for a Peace, out of the Journals of the Houſe: And vote, firſt, That all Power reſides in the People: Secondly, That the Power belongs to the Peoples Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons: Thirdly, That the Votes of the Commons have the Force of a Law without the King: Fourthly, That to take Arms againſt the Repreſentatives of the People, or the Parliament, is High-Treaſon; Fifthly, That the King himſelf took up Arms againſt the Parliament, and therefore is guilty of all the Blood ſhed in this Civil War, and ought by his own Blood to expiate it.

Votes Preliminary to the King's Trial.

The Nation was aſtoniſhed at theſe Votes: for the Perſon of the King of *England* was ever eſteemed Sacred; and therefore, tho' his Miniſters were always accountable in Parliament for uſing, or abuſing the Name of the King, to gratify their Ambition and wicked Deſigns againſt the King or Kingdom, yet in no time was any King of *England* arraigned and judged to die by his own Subjects; and tho' *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fifth were murdered by wicked Men, yet none of theſe ſuffered upon Pretence of Juſtice.

But lame-footed Vengeance ſhall overtake both Rump and Army, and as they both joined by Force to impoſe theſe upon the King and Nation, ſo both, without Force, or any Man kill'd in their Defence, ſhall be caſhier'd with all imaginable Ignominy and Reproach. Theſe Men, whom nothing but the King's and his Loyal Subjects Blood could ſatiate againſt Law, ſhall by Law have their own Blood ſhed in the

the moſt terrible manner the Law can inflict: Theſe Men, who would have the Crown and Church-Lands for their Avarice, ſhall either die or be hang'd as a Company of Beggars: *Richard Cromwell*, *Oliver*'s Heir, being undone to pay the Charge of his Father's Funeral; or thoſe who had Eſtates ſhall forfeit them, to encreaſe the Revenues of the Crown. *A. Reg.* 24.

The Regicides, to put the beſt Face they could upon this audacious Act, ſend the Bill for Trial of the King, up to the Lords for their Concurrence; but ſo far were the Lords from concurring, that they threw the Bill over the Bar: Hereupon the Rump vote the Lords dangerous and uſeleſs; yet *Henry Martin* ſaid, they were uſeleſs, but not dangerous. Then the Rumpers adviſe with the Judges about the Trial of the King, who unanimouſly declare it againſt Law, and the *Scots* Commiſſioners proteſt againſt it. But neither Authority, Law, nor Reaſon, would take place with thoſe Men; ſo they erect a new Court, never heard of before, called a *High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of the King*, to conſiſt of (I think) about Seventy Perſons, two Thirds of which were Soldiers, who by putting the King to Death expected the Reward of the Inheritance, both of Crown and Church.

If it be Miſery to have been happy, to what a miſerable State have theſe curſed Minions brought one of the greateſt and moſt high-born Princes in the Weſtern World, to gratify their Ambition, Luſt, and Avarice? For this Prince, whom they would have to rend his Subjects from their Laws, has now no Subjects who dare protect him by the Laws: He who before ſo often gloried, that to him alone belonged the Power of Proroguing, Adjourning, and Diſſolving Parliaments, who never did him Wrong, but met to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe who wronged him, and to have reconciled him to his Subjects, has now no Power to diſſolve this Rump of a Parliament, which will not be reconciled to him: He who before ſo often called his truly Loyal Subjects, Undutiful, Seditious and Vipers, ſha I hear himſelf call'd Tyrant, Murderer, and Traitor, by his implacable Subjects: He who before ſo often gloried, he was only

accountable

*A.D.*1648 accountable to God for all his Actions, ſhall be now called to an Account by a Company of Men, for Actions whereof they themſelves were much more guilty, and be ſent to God to paſs his Accounts there alſo.

His Trial and Execution. For upon the 20th of *January* the King was haled before this Aſſembly, where he was charged of Treaſon, Tyranny, and Murder, for raiſing War againſt the Parliament and People of *England*: Tho' it's evident the Members ſeiz'd the Militia, the *Tower* of *London*, and Fleet, which Powers were inherent in the King, and ſhut him out of *Hull*, and granted Commiſſions for levying Soldiers, before the King ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*. But admit the King did firſt raiſe Arms to have forced the Parliament, and firſt actually ſet up his Standard againſt them, and that was a Crime, yet was the Regicides Crime greater, who had forced the Parliament, and ſet up themſelves inſtead of it.

The King, now too late, flies to the Laws of the Land for his Protection, proteſts againſt the Juriſdiction of the Court, as eſtabliſhed by no Legal Authority, and declares his Life was not ſo dear to him as his Honour and Conſcience, and the Laws and Liberties of his People, and that he will loſe his Life, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a Tyrannical Court. And at laſt the King deſired to be heard before the Lords and Commons, in ſome Things which concerned the Peace of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subjects; but this too was denied: And ſo the 4th Day after this Appearance, *Bradſhaw* the Preſident gave Sentence upon him to loſe his Head, all the Court, to the Number of 67, owning it by ſtanding up: Which Sentence was executed the 30th of *January*.

His Character. Thus fell one of the greateſt and moſt high-born Princes of the Weſtern World. In his Perſon he was ſomewhat more than ordinarily tall, and the Compoſition of it was framed in moſt exact natural Proportion of Parts; ſo that he was very active, and of a fine Mein in his Motion, which was commonly more than ordinarily faſt; yet he appeared beſt on Horſeback, and excelled in managing his Horſe; ſo that when he was in *Spain*, in ſight of the King, Queen, the Infanta's,

Infanta's, and the Infanta *Maria*, whom he courted, *A. Reg.* 24. and innumerable other Spectators, he took the Ring in his firſt Courſe. His Viſage was long, and appeared beſt when he did not ſpeak; for he had a natural Impediment in his Speech, and would often ſlutter, eſpecially when he was in Paſſion.

To theſe Natural Endowments may be added, a Temperance in Eating and Drinking, and Chaſtity (tho' his Enemies unjuſtly traduced him otherways) rarely to be found in Princes. He was born in *Scotland*, about two Years before his Father became King of *England*; and being bred from his Infancy in a moſt luxurious and flattering Court, tho' he avoided the Luxury, yet the Flattery of it took ſuch deep Root in him, that he would never permit free Counſel to take any Impreſſion in him. In his Nature he was over parſimonious, ill becoming ſo great a Prince.

He laid the Foundation of an unhappy Reign before he became King, not only in his Diſſimulation in the Treaty of Marriage with the King and Infanta of *Spain*, to the Diſpleaſure of his Father; but much more in the *French* Treaty, not only in ſubmitting to grant a Toleration of the Popiſh Religion, and that his Children ſhould be brought up under their Mother till they were twelve Years old, but by engaging to aſſiſt the *French* King with a Fleet againſt the Reformed in *France*, which he did, tho' the *French* broke their Faith, in denying *Manſfield* to land the Army at *Calais*, raiſed for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*.

Unlike his Predeceſſor *Henry* the Fifth, who ſo ſoon as he became King, baniſhed all his Flatterers and looſe Companions, and betaking himſelf to grave and wiſe Counſel, he became the moſt Renowned and Victorious of all our *Engliſh* Kings: *Charles* became more wilful, and gave himſelf to be more governed by Favourites after he became King than before: So that the infite Piety and Affection which is due to Parents, and uſually expreſt in ſome mournful Demeanour upon their Death, took no Impreſſion in him after his Father's Death; but contrary Paſſions againſt his Father's Counſel and Will prevailed

A.D. 1648. vailed upon him: For next Day after his Father's Death, only the King and *Buckingham* preſent, the Keeper, *Williams*, coming to wait upon him; the King asked him whether the Parliament were diſſolved upon his Father's Death? Which when the Keeper told him it was, the King commanded him to iſſue out new Summons for calling another, and not to ſtay a Day, for Subſidies muſt be had for carrying on a War againſt *Spain*: and when the Keeper adviſed him to conſider a little hereof, and that before Writs were iſſued out, Intereſt ſhould be made about Elections, the King in Diſpleaſure turn'd from him: Which you may read in the ſecond Book and ſecond Folio of the Keeper's Life. And theſe two Things were obſervable in this Prince, That when any adviſed him againſt his Will, he would never ask it after, or be Friends with him; and that in all his Reign, as well in Proſperity as in Adverſity, he would never own any one of his Irregularities to be ſo, but juſtified them all to his Death.

As *Henry* was the moſt ſelf-denying of all his glorious Actions, aſcribing them only to God; ſo *Charles* upon all Occaſions, in all his irregular Actions, gloried he was accountable to none but God for them.

After he was married, he became the moſt uxorious Husband of all our *Engliſh* Kings, except *Henry* the Sixth; and being intangled by the Articles of Marriage, which the Queen foſtered, and the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation contrary to them, which his Parliaments ſtedfaſtly aſſerted, he became both ways uneaſy, and to reconcile them was impoſſible. But to me it ſeems, how uxorious ſoever the King was, yet during *Buckingham*'s Regency (for ſo it may be truly called) he had an Aſcendency over the Queen, as appears by the *French* War in the ſecond Year of the King, notwithſtanding all the Power of the Queen againſt it.

He was unaffable in his Converſation, and Approaches to him very difficult, and thoſe with ſuch ſtrained Submiſſions as were never required by any of his Predeceſſors. And as his Actions were without Counſel, ſudden and inconſiderate; ſo were his Reſolutions as variable and uncertain, ſo that oftentimes

tentimes he would change them the ſame Day: And as his Actions were without Counſel, ſo were his Deſigns without Secrecy, which blaſted them as well at Home as Abroad. *A. Reg.* 24.

He was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the *Arminian* Clergy, which flatter'd him, that I do not find, except *Juxton* Biſhop of *London*, that he preferr'd any others in the Church, till he fell into Adverſity.

In his adverſe Fortune he would betake himſelf to contrary Extreams, yet be as inconſtant in them as in his Actions in Proſperity: He was only conſtant in his Affections to the Queen, (after he had given up his Favourites in his proſperous Fortune to the Parliament) and her Counſels fixed ſtedfaſt in him, tho' in his Declarations to the Kingdom and Parliament he profeſs'd otherwiſe; and herein he was as unhappy as he was before in his Deſigns in his Proſperity; for they, whether by Fate or his own Imprudence, became known to his Enemies, who blaz'd them abroad, not only to the Nation, but all the World; ſo that the Sincerity of his Promiſes and Declarations, became ſuſpected as well by his Friends as Enemies, and all Accommodation with them more difficult; whereby it came to paſs, that his Armies being ſubdued by them, and thereby falling into the Hands of his Enemies, he became a Sacrifice to them in the 49th Year of his Age, having reigned 23 Years, 10 Months, and 3 Days, leaving ſix Children, three Sons, *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, *James*, Duke of *York*, and *Henry*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, whereof the two elder were Exiles; and three Daughters, *Mary*, Princeſs of *Orange*, and *Elizabeth* a Virgin, who not long ſurvived him, and *Henrietta Maria*, born at *Exeter*.

So that as King *John*, and his Son, *Henry* the Third, loſt all *Normandy*, and the greateſt part of *Aquitain* to the *French*, by endeavouring a more than Legal Juriſdiction over their Subjects, whereby they loſt their Love and Obedience; ſo theſe two Princes, Father and Son, by raiſing an Arbitrary Power over their Subjects, not only loſt their Honour Abroad, but with their own Subjects, and ſuffered the *French* to grow ſo great, as to endanger the Safety of all *Europe*.

I'll

A.D. 1648 I'll conclude this Story with one which a learned Gentleman who lived in thoſe Times affirmed: When the Duke of *Buckingham* was ſtabb'd by *Felton*, 1628, the Earl of *Portland* was then newly made Lord Treaſurer; and the King, to manifeſt his Affection to the Duke, order'd the Treaſurer to iſſue out of the *Exchequer* 30000 *l.* I think, for a ſolemn Funeral for the Duke: But the Treaſurer, unwilling the King ſhould be at ſo hateful an Expence, at a Time when the King was at War with *France* and *Spain*, told the King, That the Sum laid out in erecting a ſtately Tomb for the Duke, would be a more laſting Monument of his Favour to the Duke, than a Funeral Expence, which would be but the Work of a Day, and ſoon forgot: The King aſſented, and ſeveral Patterns were brought, and what the King lik'd the Treaſurer diſlik'd, till at laſt the King pitch'd upon one, which he ſaid he would have; but then the Treaſurer ſaid, *Sir, what will the World ſay, that you ſhould be at ſuch an Expence for a Favourite, when your Father has not a Stone to cover him?* Which ſtruck the King ſo, as he proceeded no farther in it. I remember, that the Commons voted 50000*l.* for the Charge of taking up this King's Body, and the ſolemn Funeral of it, and to have a Monument for it; but as if it had been blaſted by Fate, it was not done, King *Charles*, his Son, they ſay, forbidding it.

The State of the Nation as to our Neighbours, at the King's Death. As to the State of the Nation, in reference to our Foreign Neighbour Nations, at the Death of King *Charles*, we ſhall find the *Dutch* making their Advantage of the *Engliſh* Diſſenſions, as before they did of the eaſie and remiſs Nature of King *James*, when in the Year 1618, they ſeized upon the Iſland of *Amboyna*, and expell'd the *Engliſh* thence, to ſay no worſe: For Sir *William Courten*, and Sir *Paul Pindar*, at the deſire of King *Charles*, had fitted out two Ships fraighted with our Native Commodities, to endeavour an Eſtabliſhment of a Trade to *China*, where our Cloths were much more uſeful than in the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, where the Trade is carried on in the *Torrid Zone*; whereas the North and middle Parts of *China* are either cold or temperate. At this Time the

the *Engliſh* had no *Eaſt-India* Company, but the Trade was free to the *Engliſh*, nor was the *Eaſt-India* Company incorporated till the Year 1657, by *Oliver Cromwell*. The Ships which *Courten* and *Pindar* fitted and fraighted out, wherein the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and others were concerned, one was called the *Bona Eſperanza*; the other the *Henry Bonadventura*, which made a more hopeful Voyage to *China*, than can be expected to any Place in the *Eaſt-Indies*. *A. Reg.* 24.

The *Dutch*, as jealous of a Partner in the *Eaſt-India* Trade, as a Dotard is of a fair Wife, ſet out, without any Declaration of War, two Men of War, under the Command of one *Geland*, to intercept theſe Merchant-Men in the return of their Voyage homeward; and met with the *Bona Eſperanza*, between *Goa* and *Macao*, in the *Straits* of *Malacca*, and take her with all her Cargo, and carry her to *Batavia*, and there (without any legal Proceſs) confiſcate the Ship and all her Lading; this was in the Year 1643. And alſo the ſame Year they ſeize the other Ship, the *Henry Bonadventura*, near the Iſland of *Mauritius*, with all her Cargo, nor ever made any Reſtitution of either to this Day.

It was not above thirteen Years ſince the *Dutch*, in the Year 1635, entertain'd the *Engliſh* fled from *Laud* and *Wren*'s Injunctions, whereby they acquired the Art of making the Woollen Manufactury of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*, which before the *Dutch* knew not; and the Wars in *England* breaking out, the *Engliſh* did not ſo fully ſupply the Countries within the *Sound*, as before; and then the *Dutch* were rather Interlopers, than Competitors in the Trade of Woollen Manufacturies to thoſe Countries.

This want of Supply put the *Sileſians* and *Polanders* upon a Neceſſity of being ſupplied other Ways, and making a Virtue of Neceſſity, got Artificers to inſtruct the Natives of *Sileſia*, and the Weſtern Parts of *Poland*, by compounding the Wools of *Poland* and *Sileſia*, to make a coarſe ſort of Cloths, called *Sleſys*, which clad the poorer and ordinary ſort of the Inhabitants, whereby the *Engliſh*, to this Day, have loſt the Trade of coarſe Cloths to theſe Places, which before they ſolely enjoy'd. This was one Reaſon that

A.D. 1648 the *Dutch* became Competitors with the *Engliſh* in the other Trades for Woollen Manufactures within the *Sound*.

For tho' the *Engliſh* Manufactures were much better, and could be ſold cheaper than the *Dutch*; yet the *Dutch* Navigation for foreign Vent, was manifoldly cheaper, and more convenient than the *Engliſh*, in regard of the Conveniency of their building Ships proper for all Trades, which the *Engliſh* underſtood not; for a *Dutch* Veſſel of like Dimenſions, beſides the Convenience of Building, is built near half cheaper than the *Engliſh* can, and then is navigated with leſs than two Thirds of the Hands.

To this Cheapneſs of Shipping and Navigation, is added the Advantage the *Dutch* have above the *Engliſh* in compounding Fraights in this Navigation; for all the Countries within the *Sound* ſtand in need of Salt, and covet drinking Wines and Brandy: Theſe the *Dutch* not only import, by the Cheapneſs of Navigation, cheaper than the *Engliſh* can, but paying little or no Cuſtoms upon their Importation, can vend them ſo much cheaper in their Trades into the *Sound*, as their Navigation is cheaper, and the *Engliſh* Cuſtoms are more: So that if the Navigation of the *Engliſh* be double dearer, when Ships of like Dimenſions be full fraight, then if a *Dutch* Ship be full fraight, and an *Engliſh* but half fraight, the *Engliſh* becomes fourfold dearer; and this became ſo much more to the *Engliſh*, by how much the *Engliſh* Fraights were leſs after the *Sileſians* and *Polanders* had got the Art of making *Sleſys*; from thence it followed, that the *Engliſh* (by reaſon of the Dearneſs of their Navigation) could not ſell their Cloths ſo cheap, but the *Dutch* became Competitors with them, having learnt the Art of making Cloths from thoſe which fled into *Holland* to avoid *Laud*'s and *Wren*'s Perſecutions, in not complying with their Eccleſiaſtical Injunctions.

This Year 1648, at the Treaty of *Munſter*, a Peace was made between the King of *Spain* and the *States of the United Netherlands*, wherein they were declared *free States*, and ſo had as free a Trade with *Spain* as the *Engliſh*; ſo that tho' the *Engliſh*, upon the matter,

ter, had had the ſole Trade to *Spain*, excluſive to the *Dutch*, for near forty five Years, now the *Dutch* were Competitors in it with the *Engliſh*, as well as that into the *Sound*, with Woollen Manufactures. *A. Reg.* 24

In this Treaty too a Peace was made between the Empire and the *Swede*, ſo much to the Advantage of the Proteſtants, that the Pope's Nuncio proteſted againſt it, yet the *Elector Palatine* muſt be content with half his Country, the upper *Palatinate* being given to the Duke of *Bavaria* (Head of the *Catholick League* againſt the Proteſtants) who is made a *Seventh Elector*.

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Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016